

THE CHURCH OF SWEDEN

By the same Author

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A Reply to Cardinal Manning's recently acknowledged Essay, entitled "Dr. Nicholson's Accusation of the Archbishop of Westminster."

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APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION

IN

THE CHURCH OF SWEDEN

BY THE REV.

A. NICHOLSON, LL.D.

INCUMBENT OF CHRIST CHURCH, LEAMINGTON

“Thet wil för wisso sägas, at then försichtige Konungen Gustaf Eriksson, som redan hade i tancka Religions reformation, hafwer förthenskul begiärt, at thenne Biskopen (Petrus Magni) motte blifwa wigd i Rom, på thet han motte hafwa någon canonic wigd Biskop i riket, som andra kunde wiga.”—RHYZELIUS.

RIVINGTONS
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TO
HIS MAJESTY
OSCAR II.
KING OF SWEDEN AND NORWAY,
ETC., ETC., ETC.
WITH THE EXPRESSION OF
PROFOUND RESPECT FOR HIS ROYAL PERSON,
AS WELL AS
ADMIRATION FOR THOSE INTELLECTUAL GIFTS,
AND THOSE CHRISTIAN VIRTUES,
BY WHICH THE
SOVEREIGN OF THE NORTH
IS DISTINGUISHED,
The following Pages,
BY HIS MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPECIAL PERMISSION,
ARE
HUMBLY AND GRATEFULLY
INSCRIBED.

PREFACE.

THE Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester, shortly before the close of Convocation, drew the attention of the Bishops of the Southern Province to the Orders of the Church of Sweden. The latter eminent prelate and theologian also declared his intention of doing full justice to the same subject on a future occasion.

Since then, several communications have appeared in the columns of the *Guardian*, in the *Foreign Church Chronicle*, and elsewhere, which evince a continued and increasing interest in the history of the Swedish Church, and in the question of the Apostolical Succession of her Orders.

For my own part, while I was sufficiently convinced of the Swedish Succession, from a previous knowledge of facts, I felt, still, interested to pursue the subject further. Accordingly, last autumn I revisited Sweden, a country in which I had previously resided for several years, as H.M. Consular Chaplain at Gothenburg. At Stockholm, at Upsala, as well as in other places, I have had access to rare authorities and original sources of information. And here I would record my thanks to the Royal Librarian at Upsala University, to the Riks-Arkivarius, and to other learned persons, who have facilitated my researches.

The evidences for the Apostolical Succession of Orders in the Church of Sweden, epitomized within the limits of these chapters, might easily supply material for two or three considerable volumes. The difficulty, indeed, has

been to compress the facts and proofs to their present dimensions. My object is, in these days of limited leisure and impatient readers, to offer evidence upon an important and, as yet, scarcely familiar question, in as concise and clear a form, and in as few words, as possible. Besides, for the judgment of intelligent theological and antiquarian criticism, a straightforward statement of facts will carry conviction without the aid of verbiage.

For a fair and logical examination of these evidences, English Churchmen must make up their minds upon two things: first, the grounds on which Apostolical Succession is considered to be proved in *any* Church; secondly, the grounds on which Apostolical Succession is accepted as proved for the English Church. Upon precisely the same grounds Apostolical Succession is demonstrated for the Swedish Church. It is no part of my present purpose to deal with those who reject the doctrine of Apostolical Succession in general, or those who advance objections and cavils, which would equally invalidate the proofs of Apostolic Orders in all Churches—Swedish, English, Greek, or any other.

There is not to be found, so far as I am aware, in Swedish theological literature, much less in English, anything like a systematic account of the evidences in this case. It became necessary, therefore, for me to collect these from various sources, such as, contemporary letters, antiquarian essays, and scattered notices in ecclesiastical and secular historians. My labour, however, has been one of great interest, as well from its own nature, as from its connection with a country with which I have many associations of friendship and recollections from past years.

A. N.

LEAMINGTON, *February* 1880.

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CHAPTER I.

GUSTAVUS VASA AND THE PAPACY.

MY purpose, in the following pages, is to establish, to the satisfaction of English Churchmen, the Apostolical Succession of the Bishops of the Church of Sweden.

The Swedish Church owes her deliverance from Papal domination to Gustavus I., founder of the dynasty of the Vasas.

Roman Catholic historians, while refusing to credit this prince with either a creed or a conscience, pronounce him to be an able commander and an astute statesman.¹

Estimating his motives at the lowest, it was simply a measure of political sagacity, and necessary to the situation of Gustavus Vasa, that he should preserve intact to the Church of Sweden the authority of her ancient episcopate and the *prestige* of the Apostolic Succession, while vindicating her independence of the Roman See.

On his first accession to the government of the kingdom, Gustavus had evidently no deliberate intention of breaking with the Pope. On the contrary, he professed himself desirous of maintaining the Roman Supremacy. Without compromising his rights as a temporal sovereign, or the independence of the nation, he was prepared, as a loyal son of the Church, to acknowledge, to the fullest extent, the authority of the Pontiff. In a remarkable letter to the Roman Cardinals he declares himself ready to shed his

¹ Theiner, tom. i. p. 216.

blood in defence of the Church; and, provided that the rights and well-being of his kingdom meet with just consideration, the King pledges himself to perpetual obedience and devotion to the Roman See.¹

These representations had due weight with the Pope; and it was at this period of amicable relations between Rome and Sweden that an event took place at Rome on which the Apostolic Succession of the Swedish Church depends. Peter Magnusson, a monk of the order *Sancti Salvatoris*, and at that time Prior of the House of S. Bridget at Rome, having been elected to the bishopric of Westerås by the Cathedral Chapter, and having been confirmed by the Pope, was consecrated bishop, at Rome, on the 1st of May 1524, the Sunday before the Festival of our Lord's Ascension.

I proceed to prove the facts, following the evidences in their natural order.

CHAPTER II.

BISHOP PETER MAGNUSSON.

§ 1. *The King's Letter to the Pope, nominating Peter Magnusson for Consecration.*

AT this juncture several of the Swedish sees were vacant. The King, while requesting the consecration of new bishops, mentions in his letter the names of those ecclesiastics who had been elected by the Cathedral Chapters to the vacant sees. The King's Letter was as follows:—

SANCTISSIMO DNO. NOSTRO PAPE.—Devota pedum oscula beat-
orum. Beatissime Pater, Vacaverant diu Ecclesie Cathedrales in
terris nostris, tandem Prepositi et Capitula earum supplicaverant
clemencie nostre, quod pro eis quosrite et Canonice elegerant, literas

¹ Thyselius, *Handlingar*, tom. i. Appendix, p. 7.

nostras ad Sanctitatem vestram dare vellemus, ut eo citius solatio Pastorum et Episcoporum gaudere possent. Elegerant Prelati et Canonici Upsalenses, post resignationem Domini Gostavi Archiepiscopi Upsalensis, Reverendum Patrem Dominum Joannem Gothum Sanctitatis vestre commissarium et Canonicum eiusdem Ecclesie Upsalensis in eorum Archiepiscopum. Elegerant Canonici Scarenses, post mortem Vincentii Episcopi Scarensis, Magistrum Magnum Haraldi Archidiaconum in Episcopum Scarensem. Similiter Strenghenenses, post mortem Domini Mathie Episcopi, elegerunt Prepositum Dominum Magnum Sommar in Episcopum Strengensem. *Prelati etiam et Canonici Arosienses,*¹ post mortem Domini Ottonis Episcopi eorum, *postulerunt in eorum Episcopum Religiosum Patrem Dominum Petrum Magni, qui jam est provisor Domus Sancte Birgide in Urbe Roma.* Et quamvis Episcopus Aboensis Arvidus Superiori anno mortuus est, non tamen adhuc processit Capitulum Aboense ad electionem Novi Pastoris et Episcopi, propterea quod ipsa Ecclesia Aboensis occupata fuerat per inimicos, a quibus etiam nuper cum toto Ducatu Finlandie eripimus et corone adjecimus. Grati sunt nobis et Populo nobis subjecto omnes prefati electi Episcopi, quos Sanctitati vestre confirmandos offerimus supplicantes quod Sanctitas Vestra attento periculo, quod in his malis temporibus religioni ex vacantibus ecclesiis accidere possit, quantocius confirmet, atque gratiose de solutione debitorum Camere Apostolice cum eis agere dignetur, ex quo ille Ecclesie jam pauperrime sunt, et omnibus rebus penitus spoliata; et ultra hoc prefati electi singulos Episcopales census contra inimicos Ecclesiastice libertatis jam expenderunt: et adhuc quotidie expendunt; qua liberalitate Sancta Sedes Apostolica ex nobis et Regnis Nostris majora beneficia consequetur, nosque in majus obsequium Sanctitati Vestre astringat quam diu et felicissime valere optamus. Ex civitate nostra Regia Stockolnensi Anno Domini MDXXIII. xiiii. die Septembris sub nostro sigillo—

GOSTAVUS Dei gratia
Svecorum et Gothorum Rex.

De Mandato Ser^{mi} D. N. Regis
L. Andree, Secretarius Subscripti.²

The vacancy in the Metropolitan see was occasioned by

¹ Arosia, sc. Westerås.

² *Vide Konung Gustaf den Förstes Registratur*, i.; 1521-24; efter. Fredenheims copia i K. Witt. Akad. Saml. ii. 321; previously printed in

the deposition and banishment of Gustavus Trolle as a traitor to the kingdom. The person elected in his stead by the Chapter of Upsala was none other than the Pope's legate to Sweden at that time; and the envoy, intrusted with the royal letter and mission to the Roman Curia, was Olavus Magnusson, brother of the archbishop-elect. The cautious policy of the Pope, coupled with the intrigues of Potentia,¹ delayed the confirmation of the two bishops nominated to the sees of Skara and Strengnäs; and, in the case of Upsala, an obstacle was interposed by the fact that the exiled Archbishop Trolle refused to resign. In the latter case, however, the Pope, as far as was possible, acceded to the wishes of the King by appointing the legate "administrator" of the diocese in the absence of Archbishop Trolle, with the right of succession in the event of that prelate's prolonged absence or retirement.² Some years afterwards, but under entirely altered relations between Sweden and the Papacy, this same legate, John Magnusson, was consecrated to the archbishopric by Cardinal Cæsarini at Rome.

In respect to the bishop-elect *last* mentioned in the King's letter, there was no delay occasioned. Peter Magnusson was resident at Rome, being Rector of the House of S. Bridget. Personal influence was exerted in his

Knös, *Anal. Epist.* p. 38; also by Theiner, from documents in the Vatican, vol. i. p. 406. Mr. Forbes' letter to the *Guardian* (Aug. 27, 1879) contains a copy of the autograph original, with the following attestation:—

"Descriptum et recognitum ex Autographo, quod adservatur in Tabulariis Secretioribus Vaticanis, Armo IV., caps. 2, No. 17. In quorum fidem, etc.

"Dabam Nonis Augusti an. 1858, SS^{mi} vero D. N. Pii Divina Providentia Papæ IX. Pontificatus Anno viii., Indictione xi.

"MARINUS MARINI,
Tabularior. S. R. E. Præfectus."

¹ *Vide infra*, p. 16.

² *Vide* the Papal secretary's letter, *infra*, p. 8.

favour by the legate's brother Olavus, who himself had an eye to the rectorship of S. Bridget, to which preferment he shortly afterwards succeeded. Dr. Peter Magnusson, moreover, had been for several years a personage in the Roman Court, where he had enjoyed consideration and favour from the days of Leo X.¹ Finally, it is proved that considerable sums of money were promised and paid to the Papal chancery, in order to expedite the consecration of the Bishop and his departure for his distant diocese.²

§ 2. *Contemporaneous and Historical Testimonies to the Consecration of Bishop Peter Magnusson.*

Here, the contemporary *Chronicle* of Peter Andreæ Niger is of primary authority. This author, better known under the name of Peder Svart, held for some years the office of Court Chaplain and Confessor to Gustavus I., and was himself afterwards Bishop of Westerås. He was master of full information as to the events of his time.

Under date of the year 1523, Peder Svart, writing of the diocese of Westerås, chronicles thus:—

When the canons were much troubled for want of fit persons, and knew not of any man of sufficient ability to elect for bishop, King Gustavus counselled them to choose a learned man, Peter Magnusson by name, who was then resident in Rome, and was President of the House of S. Bridget, for which office he had been sent thither from Wadstena. And this accordingly was done; and they wrote both to the Pope and to him thereupon.³

The same author has left another work, *Chronicon Episcoporum Arosiensium*, in which he states:—

Doctor Peter Magnusson was of service to Pope Leo X. in many ways in his chancery in the execution of briefs; for he was a well-learned man. Wherefore the same Pope was induced to promote

¹ Rhyzelius, *Episcoposcop.* lib. v. c. ii. § 36.

² Thyselius, *Kyrkohandl.* i. 13, quoted by Anjou, *Hist.* vol. i. p. 105.

³ *Krönika*, ed. Klemming, p. 75.

and confirm him to be Bishop of Westerås, after he had received herefrom a regular call thereto.¹

Peder Svart adds the following particulars, as to the opinions of Bishop Magnusson and his opposition afterwards to the Reformation:—

This Bishop taking part with the other prelates of Sweden, as especially with Hans Brask of Linköping, Haraldson of Skara, and Archbishop John Magnus of Upsala, was very violent against King Gustaf Eriksson's reformation in religion, and the marriage of the clergy, as well as those other useful measures which King Gustaf Eriksson, and those who held with him, desired to promote; inso-much that were it not for his death, which took place in the year 1534, he must either have been deposed from his office and dignity, or must have fled the country with the above-mentioned bishops and other prelates.

Erick Jörensson Tegel, in the succeeding century, after his learned investigations, confirms the account of Peder Svart. He relates:—

The canons (of Westerås) replied, that they were in great strait and perplexity as to fit persons from amongst whom they could select another bishop, of ability suitable for the office. Wherefore, King Gustaf gave them counsel that they should choose and advance thereto a learned man named Master Peter Magnusson, who was at the time living in Rome, and there presided over the House of S. Britha, having been commissioned thither from Wadstena Cloister. He was at once chosen and called, and the Pope was written to thereupon.²

In the eighteenth century, the learned and accurate Rhyzelius gives us the result of his researches. He states that—

Doctor Peter Magnusson was born of a noble family in Westmanland. His father, Magnus Jönsson, governor of the castle of Westerås, was impaled by the cruel command of King Christian.

¹ *Vide Scriptor. Med. æv.*, ed. Annerstedt, tom. iii. sect. post. viii. Peder Svart, by an oversight, writes, "Samme Páfve," instead of "Clement VII." Leo X. (John de' Medici) died Dec. 1, 1521; Hadrian VI. died Sept. 14, 1523. Their successor, Julius de' Medici (Clement), had been Pops in all but name, during the reigns of Leo and Hadrian. The Swedish chronicler, therefore, is substantially correct. *Vide* Ranke, vol. i. B. i. c. iii.

² *Gustaf I.'s Hist.* part I. ann. 1523.

His son Peter prosecuted his studies for a long time, first at home and subsequently abroad, in Germany, France, and Italy ; in consequence of which he earned the degree of Doctor. Previously, however, in the year 1499 (6th June), he had become a monk of Wadstena, and Rector of the schools and Chaplain, having received ordination from Henry Tidemann, Bishop of Lincöping. In the year 1504, he was commissioned to Rome by the said cloister on important affairs, and meantime was appointed Provost, or Rector, of the House of S. Birgita in Rome, which was the resort of all pilgrims from the Swedish and Gothic kingdom for reception and hospitality. The pains and attention which he devoted to the House, can be sufficiently ascertained from a circumstantial communication, which, on 6th October 1512, he addressed to the Swedish bishops and the Council of the kingdom. This document Councillor von Stiernman has introduced into his notes on Bishop Peder Svart's History. From that time Dr. Peter Magnusson resided at Rome. He enjoyed much consideration and favour in the Papal Court, and, as he was a learned man, accomplished in many languages, he served the Pope as Chancellor. He had, therefore, no difficulty in being made a bishop. On the same day on which Bishop Peder Sunnanväder was deposed by the Cathedral Chapter, the King asked the members of the Chapter whom they would choose as bishop in his stead ? The King then mentioned Dr. Peter Magnusson, who was still at Rome. The King's suggestion met with unanimous approval. A letter was accordingly written to the Pope. The King himself wrote at the same time. Soon after the letter reached, the choice was confirmed by the Pope, and the "elect" was consecrated bishop at Rome by a Cardinal, at the command of the Pope.¹

Amongst writers of our own times the reader can refer to the Roman Catholic historian Theiner, vol. i. *passim*, and the Swedish Church historians, L. A. Anjou, *Svenska Reformationens Hist.* 1a. Afdel. cap. v.; Reuterdaahl, *Svensk. Kyrkans Hist.* tom. iv. cap. vi.; Professor Cornelius, *Kyrkans Historia*, pars II. i. etc. etc.

It would not be difficult to multiply authorities and historical judgments, to any extent, from the literature of several centuries, in testimony to the consecration of Bishop Peter Magnusson.

¹ *Episcoposcop.* lib. v. c. ii. p. 17

§ 3. *The Vatican Prothonotary's Announcement, to the Norwegian Primate, of Bishop Magnusson's Consecration at Rome.*

Zutpheld Wardenberg was Papal Prothonotary and Apostolic Secretary in 1524. He was a well-known and influential person in the Roman Court. He also held the situation of Commissary at Rome for the Metropolitan diocese of Throndhjem in Norway. In the course of his duty Wardenberg despatched from Rome, under date 6th August 1524, an official communication to the Norwegian Primate, Archbishop Olavus Engelbrechtsen. This letter, which is printed in the collection of C. F. Allen of Copenhagen, contains many important details of ecclesiastical intelligence,—such as, the proposed canonization of an Icelandic saint, the approaching jubilee at Rome, the conditions of indulgences on the occasion, and, in particular, the circumstances of the two Swedish dioceses, Upsala and Westerås, in which, as being adjacent to his own, the Archbishop of Throndhjem was naturally interested. The letter is a long one; it will be sufficient to quote portions bearing on the present point.

Reverendissimo in Christo Patri et Domino, Domino Olavo Engelberti, Dei et Apostolicæ Sedis gratiâ, Archiepiscopo Nidrosiensi in regno Norwegiæ, domino meo semper observando. . . . Præterea de mense Martii expedivi Ecclesiam Arosiensem in Swetiâ *pro nostro religioso patri et Domino Petro Magni*, provisore domus Sanctæ Bergittæ de urbe, *qui etiam consecratus fuit in episcopum Arosiensem dominicâ ante Ascensionis Domini, et hoc ad scripta Regis Sweticæ et Capituli Arosiensis, quod dictum Dominum Petrum absentem in episcopum postulavit, qui vii. Maii ab urbe in Swetiam descendit.*¹ Insuper Reverendissimus Dominus doctor Johannes Magni Gothus factus

¹ “ . . . On behalf of my Reverend Father and Lord, Peter Magnusson, Prior of the House of S. Bridget at Rome, who was consecrated to be Bishop of Westerås on the Sunday before Ascension, and this in accordance with the letters of the King of Sweden and the Chapter of Westerås, who asked for their bishop the said Lord Peter, in his absence. On the

administrator ecclesiæ Upsaliensis, absente domino Erici¹ illius archiepiscopo, et, durante absentia ac eo cedente vel decedente, cum successione. Idem negotium, cum alio priore, ego etiam expedivi ad instantiam Magistri Olavi Magni, fratris Domini administratoris, qui nunc gubernat domum Sanctæ Birgittæ, *ab tempore recessus Domini Petri episcopi Arosiensis*. Et intellexi ab eodem Magistro Magni, ejus fratrem doctorem Johannem esse maximum et integrum amicum vestrum; ideoque hæc volui p. v. non tacere, ut de optimis vicinis eo latius p. v. gaudere possit; intelligo enim, quod Upsaliensis et Arosiensis dioceses confiniant cum diocesi p. v. . . . Ex urbe, vi Augusti, per bancum, 1524.

P. V. reverendissimæ
filius et servitor,
ZUTPHELDUS WARDENBERG,
Prothonotarius et Scriptor Apostolicus;
manu propriâ.²

A document like this speaks for itself, and amounts to an absolute demonstration.

§ 4. *The Evidence of the Original MS. of the "Diarium Vadstense."*

Dr. Peter Magnusson was a monk of Wadstena. That celebrated monastery was founded in 1346 by a king of Sweden, Magnus Eriksson. It was situated in the district of the great Lake Vetter, and had been richly endowed by its royal founder. The cloister included a separate establishment for nuns. Wadstena found another munificent patron in a noble Swedish lady, the holy Bridgeta, who was afterwards (1373) canonized by Pope Boniface IX. During her long residence in Rome she had acquired pro-

7th of May he left Rome for Sweden." It will be remarked that we have the independent testimony of Wardenberg to the receiving of the letters from the King and the Chapter of Westerås, of which we are already informed by Peter Svart and others.

¹ *i.e.* Gustaf Eriksson Trolle.

² C. F. Allen, *Breve og Aktstykker*, etc. (Orig. paa Papir; Seglet bertfaldet, Munich, Saml. Nr. 1239.)

perty in the city, and at her death she bequeathed a house in perpetuity to the Monastery of Wadstena. This House of S. Bridget was ruled by a Rector appointed by the monks of the Swedish cloister, and, as we have seen from an author quoted above, was much frequented and resorted to by Scandinavian pilgrims visiting the Holy City.

The *Diarium Vadzstenense*, as it has come down to us, was kept by the monks for upwards of two centuries, from the year 1344 to 1545. It will be found printed at length in the great work of Joh. Messenius, *Scondia Illustrata*. The original itself is extant, and is one of the manuscript treasures of the University Library at Upsala. It is preserved in the same cabinet with the *Codex Argenteus*. On a recent visit to Upsala, I had (by the kindness of the Royal Librarian, the learned Dr. C. G. Styffe) an opportunity of examining for myself the original MS. The following extracts from the *Diarium*, which chronicle the most important facts in the life of Bishop Peter Magnusson, would be sufficient *per se* to decide the question before us:—

1499. Item, the same year, to wit, 1499, on the sixth day of the month of June, which was then the octave of Corpus Christi, the Lord Henry, Bishop of Lincöping, did consecrate four virgins to be sisters [names given], and a certain man of noble birth¹ to be a brother priest, namely, *Peter Magnusson*, rector of the schools of Wadstena, and chaplain of S. Peter's Church in that place, who was born at Jönköping, a man mature and sober.

1506. The same year, on the day of S. Gereon and his comrades, there left the House (*exierunt*) our Brothers, viz. John Matth. and *Peter Magnusson*, to go to Rome for the purpose of recovering the House of our mother, S. Bridget.

1508. This year, about the octave of Easter, Brothers John Matth. and *Peter Magnusson* came back, forasmuch as they had been taken prisoner by the lieges of the King of Denmark,² and were taken first

¹ “ Af ädel släkt, Hans Fader Måns Jönson, höfvesman på Westerås Slott.”—*Rhyzelius, Episcoposcop.* lib. v. c. ii.

² Christian II.

to Gothland and subjected to excessive hardships ; they were then sent as captives to the King at Copenhagen, where they dwelt for five weeks in the fraternity of the House of the Holy Spirit ; and, because the King would not have them proceed on their commission to the Roman Curia, they were accordingly forced to return to Wadstena.

. . . In the same year, on S. Laurence the Martyr's Day, there went out again Brothers Peter Ingemari and *Peter Magnusson* to Rome, for the recovering of the House of our mother S. Bridget. Arriving in Rome, they found Brother Barthold Leonis in full possession, or rather government, of the hospice. And, because the same Barthold was under recall to our monastery by our written commission given to the aforesaid brothers, fearing lest he should be expelled from the House, he obtained at once from His Holiness Pope Julius II,¹ full authority to rule the House during the term of his natural life ; and in this affair he showed himself most faithless.

1513. On the ninth day of the month of March, there went out Brother Laurentius Benedicti to the Roman Curia, with letters and instruments to take his stand in the House of our mother S. Bridget, by the side of Brother *Peter Magnusson*, Rector of the said House, on recalling Peter Ingemari.

1524. On the day following the Separation of the Apostles came our Brother Doctor *Peter Magnusson* from Rome, after having been consecrated as Bishop of *Westerås* ; being received in the hall of the Superior, he then spent two days in the infirmary of the monastery, feasting with us. He afterwards retired to the Diet of *Jöncöping*.²

Here we have direct evidence, which is incontrovertible.

§ 5. *Bishop Peter Magnusson, proceeding from Rome to his Diocese, was recognised as a Catholic Bishop both by the State and by his brother Bishops in Sweden of the Roman obedience ; he discharged Episcopal functions, and, after an Episcopate of ten years, died a Bishop of the Roman Church.*

It will be remembered that the Pope's secretary, in his

¹ Giulio della Rovere, Pope from 1503 to 1513.

² 1524. In crastino divisionis Apostolorum [the 15th of July], venit Fr. noster Doctor Petrus Magni de Roma, consecratus in Episc. Arosiensem, etc.

letter to the Primate of Norway, certified the departure of Bishop Magnusson from Rome, for Sweden, on 7th May, 1524. In those days, especially in times of disturbance, so long a journey would have occupied no inconsiderable time. From a totally independent authority, namely, the *Diarium Vadzstenense*, we learn that Dr. Magnusson had arrived at the monastery on the 16th of July, and that, after two days, he left Wadstena and subsequently proceeded to the Diet, or Parliament, at Jönköping.

Before taking his seat, he would have to present to the King his credentials as a Roman bishop. This would involve a journey to Stockholm and a long journey back to Jönköping. But if the meeting of the Diet did not take place before the end of the month, there would be sufficient time. Now, the following are the facts, which I quote from a secular historian, Mr. Oscar Alin:—

In the end of July and the beginning of August, we again find the King surrounded by his Council of State, on this occasion at Jönköping. Here the newly-appointed Bishop of Westerås, Peter Magnusson, lately come from Rome with the Pope's confirmation, entered and took his place in the Council of State.¹

We find the Bishop again at the famous Diet of Westerås, 23rd June, 1527.² He consecrated several bishops in 1528, and sat in the Church Synod of Örebro in February 1529. He was recognised as a Catholic bishop by the Pope's legate, at that time administrator of the Metropolitan diocese of Upsala, who did not leave the country until the autumn of 1526. "Suis vero partibus," says Joh. Messenius, "habuit Johannes (the Pope's legate) addictum in Sueciâ Doctorem Petrum Magni, Arosiensem Antistitem."³ He was likewise received as a brother Bishop by

¹ *Sveriges Hist.* tom. iii. p. 71. (Nydaningstid.)

² Anjou, *Svensk. Kyrkoreform. Hist.* tom. ii. c. i.

³ *Scondia Illustr.* tom. v. p. 70.

Hans Brask, Bishop of Lincöping, the chief champion of the Papacy in Sweden. In common with the latter prelate, Bishop Peter Magnusson was one of the signatories in 1527 of the secret oath of allegiance to the Pope and of rejection of the Lutheran heresy. This instrument was found, buried under the floor of his cathedral at Westerås, in 1542.¹

When the breach took place between the King and the Pope, Bishop Magnusson found his part difficult to sustain between the two. He was in considerable fear of the King, and, under the influence of this feeling, he consented to subserve the King's measures; but his hatred of the Reformation was well known. After an episcopate of ten years he died on 17th May, 1534. His old cloister regarded him with affection to the last. The *Diarium Vadstense* records his death as a Catholic Bishop and a brother of the Order of the Monks of Wadstena. I transcribe the record from the original MS. in the library of Upsala:—

1534. Item, *Frater Petrus Magni, Episcopus Arosiensis, obiit dominicâ infra Octav. Ascensionis.*

§ 6. *Evidence from the Epitaph of Dr. Peter Magnusson, last Roman Bishop of Westerås.*

One of the oldest authorities, who treat the history of this period, is Johannes Messenius. Swedish divines regard him as thoroughly Romish in feeling and sentiment. In one of Fant's dissertations, entitled *De Apostatis Suecanis*, I find him registered in the list of the apostates. There can be no doubt, however, of the great learning and industry displayed in the work of Messenius, *Scandia Illustrata*. The Fourth Book of his ninth volume bears the title, "History of the Adherents of the Catholic

¹ Alin, *Sveriges Hist.* tom. iii. p. 121.

Faith in Sweden, truly demonstrated from the production of their Epitaphs." These old epitaphs are epitomized biographies of eminent members and leaders of the Roman Church, evidently traced by the friendly hand of a co-religionist.

In the epitaph of Bishop Magnusson the leading events of his life are summarized—his position as a monk of Wadstena; his mission to Rome; his cultivation of learning, especially theology; his promotion to be administrator of the House of S. Bridget at Rome; his election to a bishopric by the Chapter of Westerås; his consecration at Rome; his regret, on repairing to his see, to find King Gustavus disposed towards the Lutheran doctrines. Finally, the epitaph records that he had consecrated several Bishops, some of whom deserted the Catholic faith, and that thus the Lutheran Church in Sweden had, to his great sorrow, obtained a succession of clergy.

DE DOCTORE PETRO MAGNUSONIO, AROSIENSIVM EPISCOPO.

Petrus eram Magni, Suecorum more vocatus¹

Vasteni monachus;² Doctor et inde creor;

Missus enim Romam, disco non segniter artes

Præcipue sacras, quæque dedere gradum.

Ac fuit interea curæ mihi noster ibidem

Fundus et ad campum Chloridis³ ipsa domus.⁴

Præsul ab Arosiis electus Patribus, illic⁵

Consecror, ad cathedram denique pergo domum.

Pœnituit reditûs, patriæ quod dogma Lutheri

Rex obtrusurus cuncta novaret ibi.

Nec datur ad claustrum⁶ regredi, quod sæpe cupivi;

Nec fidei curam, fas ut, habere licet.

Per me sacratus non paucus Episcopus extat,

Quorum nonnulli deseruere fidem :

¹ Petrus, Magni, sc. Magni filius.

² *Vide Diarium Vadstense*, anno 1499.

³ Poeticè, pro Birgittæ.

⁴ *Vide Diarium Vadz.* anno 1508.

⁵ *Sc. Romæ.*

⁶ *Sc. Vadstense.*

*Inde Lutheranis procrevit Clerus in orbe
Suecorum; mentem sauciat idque meam.
His aliisque malis, quæ stellis plura fuerunt,
Confectus, propter religionis opus,
Defessam superis animam commendo, etc.*

The above is not merely valuable as a chronicle of facts, but as a certain proof that John Messenius, a hater of Lutheranism but the greatest national historian and antiquarian of his times (the middle of the seventeenth century), having before him all the evidences, held it to be beyond dispute that the Apostolic Succession, received at Rome by Peter Magnusson, was conveyed by him to several Bishops by consecration, who, in like manner transmitted Roman orders to their successors in the Church of Sweden.

CHAPTER III.

THE THREE BISHOPS OF 1528.

THE next link in the Apostolic Succession of Orders in the Church of Sweden is the consecration, in 1528, of the three bishops, Magnus Haraldson of Skara, Magnus Sommar of Strengnäs, and Martinus Skytte of Åbo. The two former, at the same time with Peter Magnusson, are mentioned by the King in his letter to the Pope, 14th September, 1523, as having been elected by the Cathedral Chapters.¹ Martinus was elected some years after that date.

Why the consecration of the Bishops-elect of Skara and Strengnäs was delayed, while that of the Bishop of Westerås took place at Rome soon after the reception of

¹ *Vide supra*, p. 3.

the King's Letter, may be readily explained. The particular circumstances and influences which operated with the Roman Curia in expediting the consecration of Dr. Magnusson have been already stated.¹ On the other hand, Gustavus plainly informed the Pope that in the present impoverished state of his kingdom the Papal chancery would not be any the richer for the other consecrations.² In respect to the Bishop-elect of Skara, a further obstacle was created by the intrigues of a late Papal legate and favourite, John Francis de Potentia, who coveted the diocese of Skara for himself.³

Wearied by delays and obstruction, Gustavus determined upon another course of action. The King commanded the aged Bishop of Westerås to consecrate the three bishops, without waiting longer for confirmation from Rome.

It may be asked how it was that Bishop Magnusson, a prelate of the Roman obedience, ventured to obey this command? We can answer that question without difficulty. Peter Magnusson, as we know from his own confession, was in great fear of the King.⁴ Besides in his strait between the King and the Pope, he felt warranted in placing confidence in the Bishops-elect, two of whom had already by their conduct at the Diet of Westerås proved their attachment to the Pope,⁵ while the third, Martinus Skytte, was a Dominican monk, and held no less important

¹ *Vide supra*, p. 5.

² Anjou, *Hist.* vol. i. p. 104.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Bishop Magnusson says in his Protest, "Och ändog wij nödges och twinges, dogh af stort öfvervaldt och redduge (som väl finnes uthj bestendigh Man) till att wyija Biscopar, så beklaga wij oss högeligen ther uthöfver." Archbishop Bramhall describing, in a parallel case, the feeling of the English bishops towards the Tudor contemporary of Gustavus, remarks, "Was Henry VIII. a baby to be jested withal?" (*Consecration of Protestant Bishops vind.*) The Swede was a combination of two English kings, the Saxon Alfred and Henry VIII.

⁵ Anjou, *Kyrk. Hist.* tom. ii. c. i. p. 4.

an office than that of General of the whole Dominican Order in the three Northern Kingdoms.¹ Moreover, the King at this time was no Lutheran. His new attitude towards the Roman Church was not pronounced until the Synod of Örebro, in February 1529. A deputation of monks from Wadstena attended that synod, and returned to the monastery, as the *Diarium Vadzstenense* chronicles, utterly surprised and astounded² at the proceedings at Örebro; nor was it before that juncture that Magnus Haraldson, gaining a full knowledge of the changed policy of Gustavus, went into exile rather than compromise his allegiance to the Pope.

As the Bishops of 1528 were consecrated at the same time and place, the shortest method will be to deal with the three cases together.

The consecration of three Bishops by a Catholic prelate without the Pope's sanction was a startling incident; it took place also, with marked intention of publicity, in the Cathedral of which one of the three, Magnus Sommar, was Dean, and in which he was to be enthroned. As may be supposed, we have no difficulty in accumulating evidence of these consecrations to any extent.

§ 1. *The Testimonies of contemporaneous Chroniclers, and Historians.*

Peler Svart, who was contemporary with the events, states: "Anno 1528. On the fifth day of January, by command of the King, Magister Magnus Sommar for Strengnäs, Magister Magnus Haraldson for Skara, and Lord Martin for Åbo received their Bishop's orders and consecration from Bishop Peter of Westerås; and this took place

¹ Rhyzelius, lib. vii. c. iii. § 1.

² "Perturbati," *Diarium Vadzstenense*, anno 1529.

in the Cathedral Church of Strengnäs, and was ordered with a view to the Coronation, which was now immediately impending." He adds, "On the Sunday after the Epiphany, Gustavus was crowned with great pomp in the Cathedral of Upsala. Bishop Magnus of Skara celebrated High Mass, and there were six other Bishops present."¹

Tegel states:—

In the year 1528, on the fifth day of January, in the Cathedral Church of Strengnäs, by command of King Gustavus, these three elect, Magister Magnus Sommar to Strengnäs, Magister Magnus Haraldson to Skara, and Magister Martin to Åbo, received their episcopal consecration from Bishop Peter of Westerås, with a view to the King's impending Coronation.²

Baazius relates:—

Anno 1528. It was the will of King Gustavus that, before the ceremony of his Coronation, the three bishops-elect should be consecrated, viz. M. Magnus of Strengnäs, M. Magnus Haraldson of Skara, and M. Martinus of Åbo. This took place on the fifth day of January. The consecration was performed by Peter, Bishop of Westerås, without asking for the consent, or investiture, of the Roman Pontiff.³

Compare Fant, *Dissertatio Historica de Episcopo Arosiensi*; Rhyzelius, *Episcoposcopia*, B. v. cap. ii. § 36; Reuterdahl, *Kyrkans Hist.* tom. iv. cap. ix. p. 318; Anjou, part ii. cap. iii.; Cornelius, *Hist.* p. 138.

§ 2. *The Function of Bishops was considered necessary for the Coronation of the King; and the Consecration of the three Bishops was now required for that purpose.*

Reuterdahl says:—

Bishops were required for the coronation, but there were none

¹ *Krönika*, p. 136.

² *Gustaf I.'s Hist.* p. 184.

³ *Inventarium, etc.*, p. 227.

available. The Bishop of Linköping had left the country; the Bishops of Westeras and Wexiö were very aged, and could not be called upon. In the remaining sees were only bishops-elect. It was deemed unseemly that persons who were themselves without consecration and anointing should perform such an office for the King.¹

§ 3. *Both the People of Sweden and the King required that Persons "elected" to Sees should receive Episcopal Consecration, and Anointing with the Chrism, according to the Roman Rite.*

This is demonstrated by the *King's Letter*. There was at this time some hesitation on the part of the bishops-elect to proceed to their consecration. It may be they shrank from immediate collision with the Pope, and that they objected also to the taxing of the episcopal revenues by the King. Gustavus, however, now left them no alternative but to void their election or to proceed without further delay to their consecration. The following is from the King's letter, dated Stockholm, 7th of November, 1527, to Magnus Sommar, one of the elected:—

Furthermore, as ye are well aware that the people will hardly any longer be content without having *anointed Bishops* (although the said anointing be of little importance), it is our pleasure, if you intend to hold to your election, that you receive this winter your *Consecration and Anointing*, so that it should take place before the Epiphany of our Lord. Herein if you be doubtful as to your ability to fulfil this condition, we are not purposed to force you thereto against your will, but merely to request you to inform us, in order that, in such case, we may seek for some other person who has no such objection.

Thyselius; *Gustaf I.'s Bref till Electus i Strengnäs, om rätt utgörande af Biskopsröntan, och om Biskopsvigning.*

¹ *Kyrk. Hist.* tom. iv. cap. ix.

§ 4. *The Different Order in which the Names of the Bishops are placed before, and after, Consecration.*

This is an important argument, and consists of three considerations, viz. There was an established order of precedence amongst the bishoprics of Sweden; bishops-elect had no title to precedence; the same persons, after consecration, took precedence according to the established order of the see.

(a) The first point, the established *order of the bishoprics*, is given by Peder Svart, a writer contemporary with those times; in an interesting passage in his *Chronicle* he says:—

Ann. 1527. Some days before the Feast of S. John the Baptist the Diet commenced at Westerås. On the Sunday previous the King invited the Bishops, the Council, the merchants, the peasants, etc., to a State banquet. On this occasion the King gave some intimation of a slight change which he had purposed to carry into effect. Hitherto it had been the custom for the Bishops to occupy the first place next the Sovereign; next to them came the Council of State, then the prelates and canons, after these the nobles, etc. When the kingdom was without a king, but under a "Chief of the State," the Bishops sat not only above the Council, but also above the lords of the Government and the Chief of the State, in the following manner: the Archbishop sat in the highest seat, and then the other Bishops. First, next to the Archbishop, sat the Bishop of Linköping, then Skara, then Strengnäs, then Westerås, then Wexiö, and so all the other Bishops down to Åbo. After these the lords of Government, then the Council of State, and so on in the order as aforesaid. But King Gustavus here introduced the following change. He seated the whole State Council next to himself; after these the leading nobles of the realm; then the Bishops; then the inferior nobility; next, those priests who had been summoned; finally the merchants and the peasants. This proceeding considerably offended both the Bishops and the bishops-elect.¹

¹ *Gustaf I.'s Krönika*, p. 121.

It will be observed that the sees of Skara and Strengnäs took precedence of Westerås.

(b) The next point is, to show that *bishops-elect* to the greater sees were not allowed precedence in right of the see, but took rank after the consecrated Bishops. *E.g.* at the Diet of Westerås in 1527, the "obligatio" was signed by the Bishops and the bishops-elect thus—

"Nos, *Johannes Lincopensis, Petrus Arosiensis*, D. G. Episcopi, *Magnus Scarensis et Magnus Strengnensis* eâdem gratiâ electi, etc. etc., Dat. Arosiæ, postridie S. Joh. Baptistæ, An. Chr. 1527."¹ Here it will be noted, that Bishops Hans Brask of Lincöping and Peter Magnusson of Westerås are distinguished as "episcopi" from the "electi;" also, that Magnus Haraldson and Magnus Sommar (while their relative position *inter se* is regulated by the superiority of Skara to Strengnäs, yet), as being merely *electi* to those great sees, and still unconsecrated, are both subordinated to the prelate of the inferior see of Westerås.

(c) The third point. After the consecration of the bishops-elect and their anointing according to the Roman rite, the *order of the names is reversed*, and the same persons are now named in the order of the sees. Thus the Bishops above mentioned were consecrated on the 5th of January, 1528, by the Bishop of Westerås. All these prelates sat in the Church Council of Örebro, in February 1529; but, in the decree of that Council, Magnus Haraldson and Magnus Sommar, now consecrated Bishops, take precedence of their consecrator, Bishop Magnusson of Westerås, in virtue of the privilege of the sees of Skara and Strengnäs.²

It is clear, even were we without other evidence to the

¹ Baazius, *Inventarium*, lib. ii. c. xiii.

² Hierman, *Riksdagors och Möters Beslut*. Vide Professor Knös' letter in Dr. Mason's tl. of Anjou's *Hist.* Appendix.

fact, that the Consecration and Anointing of the Bishops must have taken place between the Festival of S. John the Baptist in 1527 and the Council of Örebro in 1529.

§ 5. *Catholic Recognition of the Episcopal Orders of Bishop Magnus Haraldson of Skara.*

(a) Six months after his consecration, the Bishop of Skara visited the Monastery of Wadstena. He was there recognised in his episcopal dignity, and he consecrated four nuns of the order. The following record I have taken from the original MS. of the *Diarium Vadstense* at Upsala:—

“1528. Dominicâ sequente, videl. Tertia Trinitatis, per Venerab. Patrem Dom. Magnum Episcopum Skarensem consecratæ iv. virgines in sorores videl.” etc. etc.

(b) Before the end of the year, however, Bishop Haraldson declared openly against the King, and fled beyond sea. As a Catholic Bishop in banishment, he addressed a letter to his Cathedral Chapter in the usual style, “*Venerabilibus viris, etc. etc. Magnus, Dei gratiâ, Episcopus Scarensis.*” The Bishop states that his temporary exile is caused by the new evangelistic heretics; that it is his duty as a Bishop to extirpate the Lutheran heresy. He appeals from the King to the Holy Apostolic See and a future General Council, and threatens his clergy with the consequences if they fail in their allegiance sworn to him as their Bishop. The letter is dated, “Helsingborg, die xi. M. Virginum, anno salutis 1529.”¹

Archbishop Gustavus Trolle, the Primate of Sweden, exiled by the King but supported in his rights by the Pope, informs Christian II. of Denmark, in a letter dated “Antwerpen, 21: April, 1530,” that he had the same day received a communication from the Bishop of Skara, and from Thure Jönson, the banished leader of the Roman party

¹ Spegel, *Skrifttelege Bewis*, p. 150.

in Sweden. In the following year Archbishop Trolle published, in Denmark, a Circular against the Swedish King, in which he declares that "our most Holy Father the Pope, and the Emperor" had given him full power and sanction to summon all people in the country to act against "that impious heretic and spoiler of the realm, Gustavus Erichsen." The Roman Catholic Primate adds, "I remain here awaiting the Reverend Fathers Bishop Hans of Lincöping and *Bishop Magnus of Skara*,¹ as well as the good and honourable knight Thure Jönson, whose arrival I expect in a day or two. As soon as they are come, we will conjointly, in the name of the Holy Trinity, take action forthwith against this impious heretic." This document is dated July 21, 1531.²

At the close of the same year, the Roman Catholic Primate and Bishop Magnus Haraldson addressed a joint letter to the Catholic Bishop, Jöns Bellnacke, which is thus dated and signed:³—

"Ex Mechliniæ civitate Brabantia; die S. Thomæ Apostoli, Anno Domini 1531. Gustavus, mirâ Dei tolerantia, S. Ecclesiæ Upsaliensis Archiepiscopus. Magnus, Episcopus Scarensis. Ture Jönson, Riddare."⁴

The Roman Catholic Primate and other prelates had no more doubt of the Apostolic Succession of Bishop Magnus Haraldson than they had of their own.

§ 6. *That Bishop Magnus Sommar of Strengnäs was fully recognised as a Catholic Bishop, is equally certain.*

In August 1531, Bishop Magnus Sommar, in conjunc-

¹ Comp. Peder Svart, *Chronicon*, *supra*, p. 6.

² Thyselius, II. *Gustaf Trolles Bref till Helsingland*.

³ Tegel, *Histor.* i. p. 282.

⁴ Thure (or Ture) Jönson was the foremost layman, as his friend, Bishop Hans Brask, had been the foremost ecclesiastic, amongst the Swedish adherents of the Papacy.

tion with Bishop Peter Magnusson, executed a formal, although a secret, Protest¹ against the acts of the King and the Lutheran heresy. This document commences, "*We, Magnus Sommar of Strengnäs and Peter of Westerås, Bishops,*" etc., each recognising the other as a Catholic bishop of the Roman obedience, but Sommar taking precedence of Peter Magnusson on the ground of the privilege of the bishopric of Strengnäs over that of Westerås.

§ 7. *The old epitomized Biographies, in the form of Epitaphs, written by zealous Adherents of the Papacy, given by Joh. Messenius, "Scandia Illustrata," tom. ix. lib. iv.*

The biography of Bishop Haraldson of Skara, giving him the title "Defender of the Faith," records the stirring incidents of his episcopate—his active opposition to the heretical King; his recourse for aid to the Duke of Mecklinburg, to the Senate of Lubec, the Danes, and the Emperor; his appeal to arms, though without success; finally his death, in the Roman faith which he had persistently defended.

DE MAGNO SCARENSIUM EPISCOPO.

Magnus in hoc tumultu requiescit Haraldus, olim
Præsul Vestgothiæ, nomen et omen habens;
Magnus erat quoniam *fidei Defensor* avitæ,
Propter et hanc constans magna pericla subit.
Arteque quod nequit facturus marte, capessit
Arma; sed eventus non sat amicus erat.
Prævalet hæreticus, permiscens sacra profanis;
Præsul in exilium, ter gemibundus, obit.
Magnipolensis opem frustra Ducis, atque Senatûs
Lubecensis, Dani, Cæsaris inde petit.

¹ See further notice of this document, *infra*, p. 32.

Suadet et interea bellum, quod Dachius infert;
Nil tamen efficiens, seque fidemque Deo
Commendat mæstus; morbis confectus et armis
Obdormit: rogo, sit mens vigil ante Deum!

§ 8.

The *epitomized biography, or epitaph, of Bishop Magnus Sommar* of Strengnäs is of remarkable interest, as it contains allusions to several of his most prominent contemporaries in the Church of Sweden. It speaks of the grievous troubles of his life in consequence of the introduction of Lutheranism into the country, while he was Bishop of Strengnäs. He opposed openly as far as he could; he was then compelled to proceed with policy and to act a part. He found himself alone. Bishop Ingemar Petri of Wexiö, from the infirmities of age, and Bishop Peter Magnusson of Westerås, from weakness of character, gave way. The Roman Catholic Primate of Upsala, Johannes Magni (who was consecrated by command of the Pope at Rome, 28th July, 1533, as successor to Archbishop Gustavus Trolle), Bishop Magnus Haraldson of Skara, and, the champion of the Papacy, Bishop Hans Brask, the great prelate of Lincöping, were all now in exile. Martinus Skytte, Bishop of Åbo, as well as all those who succeeded the exiled prelates, favoured the Lutheran heresy. Bishop Sommar, provoking enmity from his loyalty to the Roman Church, is treacherously used, is deposed, and incarcerated. The writer in his zeal for the Pope and his hatred of Gustavus I. attributes the Bishop's death, in part, to the severities of imprisonment.

DE MAGNO STREGNENSIIUM EPISCOPO.

Hic tumultus Magni, Sommar cognomine dicti,
Qui Stregnesensi Præsul in urbe fuit;
Idque labore gravi, Suecis quod dogma Lutheri
Obtrusum fuerit, quando sedebat ibi.

D.

Obstitit ut licuit, simulare deinde coactus :
 Nec minus Arosius,¹ Vexoniusque² Patres,
 Hic nihil ob senium valuit quoque grande juvare,
 Ob simplex pectus nec potis ille magis.
 Fugerat Upsalius,³ Scarinus,⁴ Lincopiusque;⁵
 Præsul at hæreticos Abogianus⁶ amat,
 Ut quoque qui profugis mox successere. Quid, ergo,
 Efficiet Magnus, viribus hoste minor?
 Proditur, et tandem Fidei ceu Fautor avitræ,
 Munere privatum dira catena ligat.⁷
 Hoc aliisque malis fractum mors straverat, æqua
 Sors humat. Huic, Lector, dic miserere Deus!

This chronicler and, with him, the learned John Messenius class together, as to their Orders, the exiled Bishops and those who followed them in the Swedish sees. There is no pretence that the Roman line of Apostolical Succession was broken; it is simply said that the Bishops, who came next in succession to those named, embraced the cause of the heretics.

§ 9.

In respect to the third Bishop, Martinus Skytte of Åbo, the epitaph last quoted notices his defection from the Roman Church to the side of the heretics, "*Præsul at hæreticos Abogianus amat.*"

Rhyzelius says, that "Bishop Martinus had sworn obedience to the Pope at his consecration, which was per-

¹ Peter Magnusson, Bishop of Westerås.

² Ingemar Petri, Bishop of Wexiö.

³ John Magnusson, the Papal Legate, afterwards Archbishop of Upsala.

⁴ Magnus Haraldson, Bishop of Scara.

⁵ Hans Brask, Bishop of Lincöping, the champion of the Papacy.

⁶ Martinus Skytte, Bishop of Åbo.

⁷ Bishop Sommar was liberated from prison, May 24, 1537. The King treated him with kindness, and permitted him to reside in the cloister of Krokek. He was still living in 1542.

formed with Popish rites ; but, that he retracted that oath and pledged it to the King, at the Council of Örebro the following year.”¹

It is only necessary to add, that, since the three Bishops of 1528 were consecrated together in the same Cathedral, on the same day, with the same rites, and by the same Bishop, any particular evidence which proves one case establishes all.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ARCHBISHOP, AND THE BISHOPS, OF 1531.

THE first Archbishop of Upsala, after the rejection of the Roman supremacy by the Church of Sweden, was Dr. Laurentius Petersson Nericius. He was born in 1499, was Professor of Theology at Upsala and Rector Scholæ in 1527, was consecrated to the Metropolitan see in 1531, and, after a long and eventful episcopate, died on the 26th of October, 1573. He was, therefore, a contemporary of the old chronicler, Bishop Peder Svart, who died, 5th October, 1562, eleven years before the Archbishop.

§ 1. *Laurentius Petersson Nericius was elected to the Primacy by the Bishops and Representatives of the Church of Sweden.*

Peder Svart relates :—

At midsummer the King summoned all the leading men of the clergy over the whole kingdom, with the Bishops, to assemble at Stockholm, in order to elect an Archbishop. Thereupon, when they were assembled, they set four in the choir as the custom was—Magister Laurentius, Archdeacon of Upsala ; Magister Magnus,

¹ *Episcoposcop.* lib. vii. c. ii.

Bishop of Strenguäs ; Doctor Johan, Dean of Upsala ; and Doctor Laurentius Petersson, Master of the schools of that ilk. They, then, appointed two to collect the votes, which they call *suffragia*. There fell then fourteen votes to M. Laurentius, four to Bishop Magnus, three to Doctor Johan, but all the rest of the votes, to the number of one hundred and fifty, were for Dr. Laurentius Petersson. M. Laurentius also transferred to him his fourteen besides. The four principal men then proceeded to the palace to inform the King of the result, praying his pleasure thereupon. He consented, and confirmed the same. Accordingly he (Laurentius Petersson) was chosen, placed in the high seat, saluted and proclaimed as Archbishop-elect.¹

Tegel states :—

Anno 1531. All the Bishops and clergy at midsummer were cited by the King to Stockholm to choose an Archbishop. They chose M. Laurentius Petersson, and so “he was chosen and accepted as Archbishop-elect.”²

Compare the accounts of, Baazius, lib. ii. cap. xxiii. ; Rhyzelius, lib. i. cap. iii. ; Anjou, tom. ii. cap. vi. ; Cornelius, p. 139 ; Alin, tom. iii. p. 145 ; Reuterdaahl, tom. iv. p. 418.

§ 2.

The Consecration of the Archbishop took place, three months after his election, on the Sunday next before the Feast of S. Michael, and two days before the marriage of the King with Catherine, eldest daughter of the Duke of Saxe Lauenburg.

Peder Svart records :—

Two days before the marriage, the Archbishop-elect received his Bishop's consecration in the Gray Friars' Cloister in Stockholm. Thereafter he performed all the offices at the high ceremony, with the mass, the marriage, etc.³

The Archbishop also crowned Queen Catherine.⁴

¹ *Krönika*, p. 162.

² *Gustaf I.'s Hist.* p. 184.

³ *Krönika*, p. 163.

⁴ Reuterdaahl, tom. iv. p. 419.

§ 3. *The Consecrating Bishop was Peter Magnusson,
Bishop of Westeraås.*

The King was desirous that the marriage ceremony should be performed by the Metropolitan. Rhyzelius says:—

Accordingly it was his Majesty's pleasure that the Archbishop's consecration should be hastened. It took place, therefore, in the Gray Friars', now Riddarholm Church, on the Sunday next before Michaelmas 1531, in the King's presence, who with his own hand presented to the Archbishop the episcopal staff. But the solemn act of consecration itself was performed by the Bishop of Westeraås, Dr. Peter Magnusson, whom the King had some years before caused to be consecrated at Rome, and who also had consecrated, by the command of the King on the 5th January, 1528, Magnus Haraldson, Bishop of Skara; Magnus Sommar, Bishop of Strengnäs; and Martinus Skytte, Bishop of Åbo, so that the Bishops of Sweden have veritably the Apostolic and Canonical Succession from Rome.¹

Compare with this the learned Fant, *Dissertatio Historica de Episcopo Arosiensi*:—

With a view to retort the weapons of the Pope's party, the King was seriously concerned to preserve to his Evangelico-Lutheran Bishops the Apostolic and Canonical Succession, which the Roman Catholic Church claims for herself alone. He therefore caused not only the consecration of Bishops Magnus Haraldson of Skara, Magnus Sommar of Strengnäs, and Martinus Skytte of Åbo on the 5th of January, 1528, but also in the year 1531, on the Sunday next before the Feast of S. Michael, that of the Archbishop himself, Laurentius Petersson Nericius.

Compare the same author, *De Successione Canonica et Consecratione Episcoporum Sveciæ*.

§ 4.

I have noticed the consecration of the Archbishop first, but there were *three new Bishops consecrated previously in the same year, 1531*. These must not be confounded with

¹ *Episcoposcop.* lib. i. c. iii. § 1.

the three consecrated in the year 1528, in the Cathedral of Strengnäs. The vacancies were occasioned by the flight of Bishop Hans Brask of Lincöping, after the Westerås Recess in 1527, by the flight of Bishop Magnus Haraldson of Skara in 1529, and by the death of Bishop Ingemar Petri of Wexiö on the 4th of October, 1530.

In 1529 the Cathedral Chapter of Lincöping elected to the bishopric their Dean, Johannes Magni. In documents of that year he is called "Electus Lincopiensis." In the same year, the Cathedral Chapter of Skara elected to the vacant see Sveno Jacobi. On the vacancy of Wexiö, Canon Jonas Bosson, who had been the representative of Bishop Ingemar Petri at the Riksdag of Westerås, was appointed to the see. These three were consecrated Bishops on the 12th of August, 1531.

King Gustavus, [says Anjou,] summoned the Bishops-elect of Linköping, Skara, and Wexiö to appear at Stockholm not later than the 13th day of August, 1531, for the King's espousals and for their own consecration. He had summoned the Bishops of Strengnäs and Westerås to solemnize their consecration as well as that of the new Archbishop-elect. . . . The Bishops-elect of 1531 were consecrated in August the same year; the new Archbishop in the Church of the Franciscans in Gray Friars' Island, in Stockholm, on the 22nd of September, two days before he performed the marriage ceremony of the King and his first wife.¹

Compare the Roman Catholic historian, Theiner, vol. i. chap. ix., and Oscar Alin, *Sveriges Hist.* vol. iii. p. 146.

§ 5.

The Ritual used at the consecration of the Archbishop included the laying on of hands, the anointing with the chrism, investiture in the archiepiscopal pallium, coronation with the mitre, and presenting of the crosier.

¹ Anjou, *Kyrk. Hist.* tom. ii. c. vi.

After stating that the consecrator was a Bishop of the Roman succession, Rhyzelius adds:—

The Archbishop's consecration, however, was not performed with the Popish superstitious ceremonies, but with the Word of God and prayer, and the laying on of hands, as well as with seemly investiture with the mitre and the pallium, which was not purchased from Rome of the Pope at the cost of a heavy contribution from the clergy, but was provided by the King's free bounty, and was suited to exalt and maintain both the Archbishop's person and office in becoming honour and dignity.¹

Compare Fant's *Dissertation*: "Constat in hoc actu, præsentî rege celebrato, adhibita fuisse pallium et mitram."²

The King, as already stated, with his own hand presented the Archbishop with the crosier.

The use of the chrism, at the consecration of the Swedish Primate, is attested by a document, which implies all the other details of the ritual. After more than forty years, when a controversy on the use of unction in consecration arose, King John III. addressed the episcopate and the clergy of that time, as follows: "It is my firm determination and command, that you retain the ceremonies which your predecessors, both Bishop Laurentius of blessed memory and the rest, have used. There are many still living, who have been consecrated to the priesthood with the ceremonies to which you object."³

The use of the chrism at the consecration of Archbishop Laurentius is rendered further certain by the fact, that Gustavus I. considered "anointing" almost synonymous, in popular usage, with "consecration," as proved by his letter, quoted above, in the case of Magnus Sommar, Bishop of Strengnäs.⁴

¹ *Episcoposcop.* lib. i. c. iii. § 1.

² *De Successione Canonica*, etc.

³ Spegel, *Skiftelege Bewis*, p. 113.

⁴ *Vide supra*, p. 19.

§ 6.

I would here notice more particularly a document already alluded to, namely, the *Protest* of the two Bishops in 1531. It will be found printed in the Collection of Thyselius (1841), and also in the Papers published (1877) under authority of the Royal Archives.

The effect of this document in evidence is, to confirm the several links of the Apostolical Succession in the Swedish Church for about half a century, that is to say, from the consecration of Bishop Peter Magnusson at Rome, 1524, to that of the Archbishop of Upsala in 1531, who died in 1573, after a primacy of upwards of forty years.

The parties to this joint Protest were, Bishops Magnus Sommar of Strengnäs and Peter Magnusson of Westerås, who were uniform upholders of the power of the Church against the King, were firmly attached to the Roman See, and are reckoned by Swedish historians amongst the "Popish bishops" of Sweden. They were both malcontent at the time. In the year 1530 (March 27th), the King administered an unceremonious rebuke to the Bishop of Westerås, on the occasion of a certain episcopal circular of his, and imposed upon him some humiliating restrictions as to the temporalities of his see.¹ The year following, the Bishop of Strengnäs was a candidate for the archiepiscopal throne, but was rejected by an overwhelming majority of the representatives of the Church. In his subsequent action he committed himself so far, that he was deposed in 1536 from diocesan jurisdiction.²

These two prelates, however, were required by the King to transmit the Apostolical Succession to the new Bishops and Archbishop-elect, whose consecrations were to take

¹ Thyselius, I. ii. pp. 313, 319, 321.

² Rhyzelius, lib. iv. c. ii. § xxxv.

place before the ensuing Michaelmas. In prospect of performing these consecrations in enforced obedience to the King, the two Bishops executed their Protest,¹ dated Strengnäs, the 10th of August, 1531, and formally signed and witnessed. Commencing, "We, Magnus Sommar of Strengnäs and Peter of Westerås, Bishops," the document declares the irreconcilable hostility of the signatories to the Lutheran system, and their unchanged loyalty to the Roman Church as supreme;² it describes the persons about to receive consecration as "the Archbishop and the other Bishops who are now intruded;" it pleads, in excuse for compliance with the command of the King, "We are compelled and forced, and this only by oppression and by fear (to which all men are more or less subject), to consecrate Bishops, a thing which we exceedingly deplore."

The Protest was designed to be kept secret until some convenient season. In case of the overthrow of the present Government and of the Reformation in Sweden, both which were naturally regarded at the time as experiments in politics and religion, the two Bishops intended to bring to light this instrument, duly dated and witnessed, as their exculpation to the Pope for episcopal acts done without his sanction.

On the face of the document three things appear:—

1. It emanates from devoted adherents of the Roman See.
2. The parties are Bishops, and in Roman Orders; otherwise their apology, as Bishops, for episcopal acts, would be unmeaning.
3. As it is an historical fact that the Archbishop and the

¹ *Vide Handlingar utgifna af Riks-Archivet*; also Thyselius, I.

² "Hwarfore gifve wijoss, och alt wårt godz, vörligit och orörligit, under then Helge Romerske Kyrken, bekennandes henne, lijke som wår Modher och menigheetz Regentinne."

three Bishops of 1531 were consecrated; that, (besides Martinus, Bishop of Åbo), there were no other Bishops but the Bishops of Strengnäs and Westerås to consecrate them; that these latter were commanded by the King to consecrate; moreover, as we find the Bishops of Strengnäs and Westerås fully contemplating these consecrations as their own personal act, while deploring their situation—it is certain, even were there none other evidence, that these two Bishops, or one of the two, consecrated the new Bishops.

A similar point of circumstantial evidence would carry conviction in a case in criminal law. Assuming an overt act, and that it appeared in evidence that the capacity and opportunity of commission were limited to two persons, and further, that a secret correspondence is “put in,” in which the parties contemplate, as certain, their committing the act, for reasons mutually agreed upon between them to be sufficient—no jury would have any hesitation as to the verdict.

There is another possible alternative, viz. the supposition, that the document in question is a forgery. If so, it is, not the less, contemporary with the facts which it recites. Its age is certified. Any one, moreover, acquainted with the Swedish language, knows that the orthography and the style belong to the age of Gustavus I. On this supposition, the document rests upon facts assumed to be notorious, namely, that the consecrators were Bishops in Roman Orders, and that the Primate and the suffragans of 1531 were consecrated by their hands. Thus, in any case, the Protest becomes an attestation of the facts on which it is based.

§ 7.

It was now forty years since the venerable Primate had received the Apostolical Succession from a Catholic Bishop,

which he had preserved and propagated through his long episcopate. He was resolved to perpetuate it. With this view, the Archbishop stereotyped the Church procedure of the past half-century upon his *Church Ordinance* of 1571. Therein three points were laid down: (1) That a Bishop should be regularly *elected*; (2) that the election should be *confirmed* by the State; (3) that the person elected and confirmed should receive *episcopal consecration*.¹ This ordinance was made the law of the Church at the Synod of Upsala in 1572. In the following year the Archbishop died, having thus bequeathed² to the Church both the Apostolical Succession and securities for its preservation.

CHAPTER V.

THE ARCHBISHOP, AND THE BISHOPS, OF 1575.

GUSTAVUS was succeeded by his eldest son, Erik XIV. This prince was for some time a suitor for the hand of Elizabeth of England, and, afterwards, for that of Mary Queen of Scots. John III., brother and successor of Erik, was a decided High Churchman. He attached essential consequence to a Catholic Liturgy, to the Apostolic Succession of the Christian Ministry, and to an imposing dignity and splendour in Ritual. In his reign the aged Primate died; his elected successor was another Laurentius Petersson, who is distinguished from the former by the name Gothus.

The new Archbishop was consecrated with great pomp in the Metropolitan Cathedral. His consecrator was the venerable Bishop of Åbo, Paulus Juusten, who had received his own consecration from Bishop Bothvid

¹ Cornelius, *Hist.* p. 146.76

² This ordinance was commonly called, "Laurentius Petri's testamente till Svenska Kyrkan."

Sunonis, the successor of Magnus Sommar in the see of Strengnäs.

As there are more links than one in this succession, we will take each in the order of time.

CHAPTER VI.

BOTHVID SUNONIS, BISHOP OF STRENGNÄS.

BISHOP BOTHVID was one of the most prominent Churchmen of his time; he was distinguished alike for high character, learning, and zeal. There is a certain parallel as to accidental circumstances, but by no means in character, between this Swedish prelate and the English Bishop Barlow, the principal consecrator of Archbishop Parker, through whom Apostolic Orders are derived to the Church of England.

The Swede and the Englishman were not only contemporaries, but were elevated to the episcopate in their respective Churches in the same year, 1536. Of the consecration of Bishop Barlow no record can be traced in the register in which it ought to appear, and in which other consecrations are duly entered. This, however, is explained by the fact, that the registrars have been guilty of negligence and omission in some cases. In respect to the consecration of Bishop Bothvid, there is a similar defect of registration; but, the defect here is not the omission of his name through negligence, or accident, from a register in which it ought to appear, but the non-existence of the register. This circumstance may be fully accounted for by the fact, that the Cathedral Church of Strengnäs was burned to the ground on the 18th of June, 1551, in the fifteenth year of the episcopate of Bothvid.

In consequence of the omission of Bishop Barlow's name

from the Register of Consecrations, his succession must be established by other evidence; and, as Archbishop Bramhall says, "there are so many evident proofs that he was consecrated, that no ingenuous person can have the face to deny it."¹ This remark applies with still greater force to the Swedish Bishop.

The main evidences, on which the consecration of Barlow is proved, are these—his election by the Cathedral Chapter, his confirmation and possession of the temporalities of his see, the King's letter commanding his consecration, his receiving full recognition in his episcopal office, his discharge during his life of essentially episcopal functions, finally, the notoriety of the fact that he was a Bishop, which no one doubted until eighty years after his death.

By the same lines of evidence the case of Bothvid, Bishop of Strengnäs, is abundantly demonstrated.

§ 1.

Bothvid's *election* to the bishopric by the Cathedral Chapter, his *confirmation* by the King in Council, and his *investiture* in the temporalities of the see, are facts proved by the King's Letter.

At the time of his election Bothvid was Canon of the Cathedral of Lincöping, and was on terms of intimate association with the Archbishop, and his brother Olavus, who was Secretary of State, 1531-33.

The following is an extract from the King's Letter, dated "Tynelsö, 7th September, 1536:"—

We, Gustavus, etc., make known, that, Whereas we, by and with the advice and mind of our Council, likewise also with the approval of the Chapter of Strengnäs, have elected our well-beloved the Reverend Master Botvidt Szunnonis to be Bishop of the Cathedral

¹ *Consecrations, etc., vindicated*; Works, vol. iii. Oxf. ed.

Church of Strengnäs, we therefore have covenanted with him, that he henceforward shall have and hold and be seized of, quit and free, all those the homesteads belonging to the Bishop's See, which are situate in the parishes of Strengnäs and Jederös, likewise the entire Bishop's tithe upon the hundreds of Östre, Rekerne, etc. etc.¹

There are also *Letters-patent*, dated in May 1544, in which the King confers upon "our well-beloved and reverend, the Lord Bothvid, Bishop of Strengnäs," a piece of land called Bishopsmead, together with the island of Siöröö.²

§ 2. *The full Recognition of Bishop Bothvid, in the Dignity and Status of his Office, is demonstrable in many ways.*

E.g. In the year 1544 we find him presiding over the Cathedral Chapter of Strengnäs, as proved by a Letter addressed by the King to the Bishop and Chapter.³

Again, there is the King's Letter, dated Stockholm, 22nd of September, 1551, addressed to him as Bishop, with the command to procure a competent person to estimate the cost of rebuilding the Cathedral of Strengnäs, which had been burned down in the preceding summer.⁴

Bothvid used officially, and received, the full style and title of Bishop of Strengnäs.

On the occasion of a recent visit to the Royal Archives in Stockholm, I had the opportunity of examining original papers in the handwriting of Bishop Bothvid. Amongst these is a letter dated 20th of May, 1538, addressed to Clement, the Swedish Chancellor, which is signed at foot "*Botvidus Episcopus Strengnensis*." Another is a letter in Latin, written in the year 1542, acknowledging the receipt of copies of the Swedish translation of the Bible from the

¹ Thyselius, II. i. p. 83. *Gustaf I.'s Förening med Bothvid Sunonis.*

² Ibid. p. 219. *Bref för Biskop Bothvid i Strengnäs.*

³ Ibid. p. 221.

⁴ Ibid. p. 357. *Befallning till Biskop Bothvid Sunonis.*

Archbishop of Upsala. This document, which is duly executed and sealed, begins, "*Ego, Botivodus vocatus Episcopus Strengnensis.*"¹

Farther, I found in the Archives the autograph original of a letter (signed, sealed, and dated, Stockholm, 9th of May, 1538) from Olavus Petersson, the Archbishop's brother, who at that time was still in deacon's orders, although holding the office of a preacher. He says, "I, Olavus Petri, of Stockholm, preacher, acknowledge, in this my handwriting, my receipt of 500 marks sterling from John Simonson, gentleman, which sum the *Reverend Father Bishop Bothvid of Strengnäs*² sent me, to be applied to the expenses of the paper to be ordered for the printing of the Old Testament. In witness hereof," etc. etc.

§ 3. *Bishop Bothvid, during his long Episcopate, discharged the essential Functions of a Bishop. Of this we have several proofs.*

(a) By command of the King in 1545, Bishop Bothvid conferred priest's orders on Nicholas Knutson, who was afterwards Bishop of Wexiö. Bishop Knutson was recognised and confirmed by three sovereigns in succession: by Gustavus I. in his letter of 16th June, 1553; by Erik XIV. under date 5th July, 1556; and, when John III. added Calmar and Oland to his jurisdiction, that monarch confirmed him in his bishopric on the 2nd February, 1569.³

(b) By command of King Gustavus, in 1554, Bishop Bothvid consecrated two Bishops, namely, Michael Agricola to the see of Åbo and Paulus Juusten to that of Wiborg. In the year 1550, Martinus Skytte, Bishop of Åbo, who

¹ Unpublished MSS. in National Archives.

² "Werdig Fader Biscop Botuid i Strengenes."

³ Rhyzelius, lib. vi. c. iii. § 2.

had received the Roman Succession from Bishop Peter Magnusson, died. During the last two years of this diocesan's life, one of the canons of the Cathedral, Michael Agricola, had been Vicar-General of the diocese, which office he continued to hold for a further term of four years. In May 1554 the Vicar-General, with the Prebendary Paulus Juusten and other dignitaries of the Cathedral of Åbo, were summoned by the King to Stockholm. The King then acquainted them with the new division of Finland into two dioceses; he appointed the Vicar-General to the diocese of Åbo, and Prebendary Juusten to Wiborg.

Thereupon, [Rhyzelius states,] he sent them to Strengnäs in order that they might be instituted to the office of Bishop, by Bishop Bothvid, by means of the usual rite of Consecration. Bishop Agricola was not altogether satisfied at the division of the diocese. He hastened back to Åbo, and held his first Mass with full Popish ceremonies. This act offended the King, who sharply rebuked him. In the second year of his episcopate he was sent to Moscow on important State affairs, with Archbishop Laurentius Petersson Nericius, and the State Councillor, Sten Eriksson. When returning, the Bishop was seized with illness. . . . He died on the 9th of April, 1557, and was buried by the Archbishop, in the Cathedral Church of Wiborg.¹

Now, Michael Agricola had the highest view of the Pontifical dignity of a Catholic Bishop, as he showed at the celebration of his first Mass after consecration. He was, moreover, well acquainted with Bothvid as Canon of Lincöping, and having been associated with him in special Church labours in past years, under the direction of their common patron and friend, the Archbishop.² It is not reasonable to suppose that the King, determining that the Vicar-General of Finland should be made a Bishop, would have sent him a long journey from Stockholm to Strengnäs

¹ *Episcoposcop.* lib. vii. c. iii. § 2.

² Messenius, *Scandia Illustr.* tom. v. p. 55. Theiner, tom. i. chap. ix.

for consecration, or that the Vicar-General himself would have consented to go, if the ceremony in the Cathedral of Strengnäs was to be a solemn mockery, a consecration by a pretended bishop.

It is evident that the Apostolical Succession of Bishop Bothvid of Strengnäs was certain.

§ 4.

(c) One instance more.

Olavus Petri, brother of the Archbishop of Upsala, was the foremost man of his time. He was the greatest polemic and preacher in the Swedish Church. He was for many years the intimate friend and ally of Laurentius Andreæ, Chancellor of the kingdom. Early in life, in the days of the Roman obedience (1520), Olavus had been ordained a deacon by Matthias Gregorii, Bishop of Strengnäs, who shortly afterwards was slain in the massacre at Stockholm. Olavus remained a deacon until the year 1539, when he received Priest's Orders. *Now, the person who consecrated, to the priesthood, the brother of the Primate and Metropolitan of Sweden was Bothvid, Bishop of Strengnäs.*

Olavus Petri has left after him Notes of his own life, which are extant in the Library of Lincöping. These contain the following record: "In the year 1520, about the Feast of S. Michael, I, Olavus Petersson, was ordained deacon by Matthias, Lord Bishop of Strengnäs. In the year 1539, I was ordained priest by Bothvid, Lord Bishop of the same Church, on the Sunday after S. Bartholomew's Day, that is, the 30th day of August."¹

Olavus was the leading theologian in Sweden. He was

¹ *Olai Petri Anteckningar om sig sjelf, vide* Thyselius, II. ii. "Ann. 1520 circa festum Michaelis, ordinatus fui Olavus Petri diaconus per Dominum Matthiam Episcopum Strengnensem. Anno 1539 ordinatus fui presbyter per Dominum Botividum, ejusdem Ecclesie Episcopum, Sabbatho post Bartholomei, sive 30 die Augusti."

in earnest on the subject of Orders, otherwise he would not have sought the priesthood after a diaconate of nineteen years. He had a perfect knowledge of the antecedents, and present position, of all his contemporaries in the Church of Sweden. It cannot be supposed, for a moment, that he would have applied for the Orders of a priest to any but a real Bishop; especially, as his own brother was Archbishop of Upsala at the time. Further, in recording the facts, he describes Bishop Bothvid under the identical style and title of his Roman Catholic predecessor in the same see.

§ 5.

The notoriety of the fact. The episcopal status of Bishop Barlow was not doubted until eighty years after his death; that of Bishop Bothvid has never been questioned.

Theiner, the Roman Catholic historian, has many notices of this Bishop. Referring to the services which the two Canons, Michael Agricola and Bothvid Sunonis, had rendered to the Archbishop, that author says, "Bothvid and Agricola were rewarded for the services which they rendered to the Archbishop, with episcopal sees, the former with Strengnäs, the latter with Åbo."¹

The same author records the consecration of Michael Agricola to the bishopric of Åbo by Bothvid: "Agricola was already nominated Bishop of Åbo, but he had not yet received consecration. The King had him consecrated, in 1554, by Bothvid, Bishop of Strengnäs. Agricola, however, soon incurred his displeasure in consequence of his celebrating after the manner of the Catholic Bishops, his predecessors, with the crosier, the mitre, etc."²

If Bothvid were not, beyond all doubt and controversy,

¹ Theiner, tom. i. c. ix.

² Ibid. tom. i. c. x.

a true Bishop, the Vatican historian would never have so written; he would not have failed to impugn the validity of a consecration by a Bishop who forms an important link in the Swedish Succession.

That great historian and antiquarian, Johannes Messenius (whose work *Scondia Illustrata* was written before the year 1636), had a hostile feeling towards the whole party of the Reformation in Sweden. Bishop Rhyzelius remarks of him, "that he was a Papist in heart as long as he lived."¹ Towards Bishop Bothvid, in particular, Messenius indulges his bitter feeling, ostensibly on political grounds, not scrupling to revile him as "*Falsarius historię Sueticę*."² Notwithstanding, that learned writer never breathes a suspicion as to the Orders of the Bishop of Strengnäs, while he frequently has occasion to mention that prelate as a prominent actor in the affairs of Church and State, and, what is especially to our present purpose, as the consecrator of Bishops.

Again, when the Pope's legate to Sweden, the Jesuit Anthony Possevin, held his polemical conversations with King John III., one topic considered was, a legally constituted ministry in the Church. Possevin was a man of extraordinary learning and power as a controversialist; all the facts were at the time recent and well known. In the year 1562, when Bishop Bothvid died, Possevin was twenty-eight years of age, and the Swedish prince, John, was in his twenty-fifth year. Had there been the shadow of a doubt as to the Apostolical Succession of the Bishop of Strengnäs, King John would have been aware of it, and the Italian Jesuit would have certainly insisted upon it, as English Jesuits have pertinaciously done in the case of Archbishop Parker and Bishop Barlow. On the contrary,

¹ *Episcoposcop. Anmerkningar*, p. 155.

² *Scondia Illustr.* tom. v. pp. 70, 108, and tom. xv. p. 117.

Possevin never insinuated a doubt either as to the consecration of Bishop Bothvid, or the validity of any other link in the Swedish Succession.¹

§ 6.

The comprehensive arguments of Professor Knös, which have a general bearing upon the whole subject, are of great force in corroborating the independent evidences for each particular link in the Succession. Dr. Knös adduces three main considerations:—

Firstly, The Apostolic Succession of Bishops was from the very beginning of the Reformation a subject of great consequence with King Gustavus I.

Secondly, A law, to this day inviolably observed, lays down, that no Bishop before he be consecrated shall enter on the episcopal office, or preside in a diocesan chapter, or perform in any manner the duties of the episcopal office, or enjoy the returns or emoluments of his office. Wherefore, from the times of which we speak to our own age, the custom has prevailed, that every Bishop immediately after he has been elected and confirmed, (and so in the space of one or another week, at the most of one or another month,) has been consecrated.

Thirdly, When in the reign of John III., who too much favoured the Papacy, Bishops were to be consecrated, a great dispute indeed arose concerning the rites and ceremonies with which this consecration should be performed, because the King wished all the Papal ceremonies introduced into these acts, while the clergy admonished him that certain of these ceremonies, as redolent of superstition, had not for some time been observed in the consecration of the Bishops of Sweden. Yet, not a word was said of the Bishops themselves, to wit, whether they should be considered to have received legitimate consecration and were able to impart it to others. This was not doubted either by the King or by the legate of the Roman Pontiff, the well-known Cardinal Possevin, who then treated with the King in Sweden.²

¹ *Vide Theiner, tom. ii. passim.*

² Prof. A. G. Knös, S. T. P. of Upsala. See Anjou's *Hist.*, tl. by Dr. Mason (New York); Appendix.

§ 7.

I have already alluded to the analogy, in point of circumstances, between Bothvid, Bishop of Strengnäs, and Bishop Barlow, the proof of whose consecration is of vital consequence to the legitimate succession of our Anglican Orders. The following is an extract from Mr. Haddan's work on *Apostolical Succession in the Church of England*:—

The case, then, as regards the fact of Barlow's consecration in 1536—saying nothing at present of its importance—resolves itself into the question, if indeed it can be a question with a reasonable man, whether the presumptive evidence to an act, arising from notoriety, from law, from uniform custom, from religious belief, from tacit and undoubting admission of everybody, adversaries and friends alike, from overwhelming motives leading to its performance and absence of all motive to the contrary—from, in a word, every possible source whence presumptive evidence can be drawn—can be set aside by inability long after to find a record of it, which a particular official ought to have made, but his omission of which no one at the time would have discovered, because no one would have thought of looking for it; and an official, moreover, who is known to have omitted, out of sheer carelessness, one out of five of all entries of the kind. No one asks for the register of a Bishop of our own Church at the present moment. By all, except the handful who may chance to have witnessed it, his consecration is believed—and it would be simple folly not to believe it—upon presumptive evidence precisely similar to that which establishes Barlow's consecration. And if the Archbishop's registrar had omitted to register it, or if Archbishop Tait's register were mislaid, no one probably would be the wiser, while the really consecrated Bishop would unconsciously go down to posterity with no regular record, capable of being produced, of his nevertheless real consecration. And so plainly it was with Barlow. The burden of proof assuredly lies on the denier. Barlow was certainly consecrated, unless reason can be given for thinking he was not. The law of the Church at that, as at all times, imperatively enjoined consecration. The law of the land required it, under penalties if it was not performed. The even more strongly constraining force of the strong opinion and belief of both the clergy and the laity of the land, with the most limited exceptions, still more

imperatively enforced such requirement. The House of Lords would have refused admission into their House to an unconsecrated prelate. The Upper House of Convocation would have raised a like fatal objection. Other Bishops whom he joined in consecrating would have demurred to a consecrator, himself unconsecrated. Some at least among the "pretenced" Bishop's clergy would in such troublous times have at least demurred to a jurisdiction which would rightly have been none at all. And further, what is in itself of minor importance, but evidentially perhaps is of more weight than all, his episcopal acts respecting the property or rights of his sees would have been legally invalid; and yet although it did so happen that leases of Barlow's were actually impeached at law upon other grounds, and that he also got into legal difficulties and stirred up bitter strife by depriving the Dean of Wells in 1550, not one suspicion seems to have occurred to his foes or to their lawyers, that there was any flaw in his consecration. . . . It is surely only common-sense to accept the overwhelming presumption arising from all this, that Barlow was not a single and unaccountable exception to a rule, so invariable as to be a matter of course; that he did not gratuitously, and without the slightest assignable motive, imperil his whole worldly position, or persuade others to imperil theirs, for nothing; and lastly, that he really did not, in order to avoid going through the ceremony of consecration, accomplish the marvellous feat, first of persuading all the world to believe him consecrated when he was really not so, and next of making others, who must perforce have been parties to the conspiracy, absolutely and throughout hold their tongues on the subject; but that he really was in due order consecrated according to the then still unchanged Ordinal.¹

Any one acquainted with the facts of history, and with the laws of Sweden ecclesiastical and constitutional, will have no difficulty in applying Mr. Haddan's arguments, *mutatis mutandis*, to the case of Bishop Bothvid of Strängnäs—with this difference, be it remembered that *there are some special circumstances which bring the consecration of the Swedish prelate still nearer to demonstration.*

¹ *Apostolical Succession in the Church of England*, by the Rev. A. W. Haddan, B.D., chap. vii.

§ 8.

Lastly, it may be concluded as a moral certainty that the actual consecrator of Bishop Bothvid was his Metropolitan, the Archbishop of Upsala.

The following are the chief reasons which lead me to this conclusion:—

Firstly, It was then, and is still, the uniform custom of the Church of Sweden, when the See of Upsala is occupied, that the Metropolitan in person should consecrate his suffragans. To deny this in the present case is to assume, without a shadow of foundation, that the Metropolitan went out of his course in order to refuse consecration to Bishop Bothvid. That prelate was elected to the bishopric of Strengnäs in 1536, which was the fifth year of the episcopate of Archbishop Laurentius. Professor Knös remarks, "Archbishop Laurentius Petersson lived to the year 1573, and through the whole of this time, the space of forty-two years, executed the archiepiscopal office. There can be no doubt that all the bishops of Sweden who were at this time 'elected' and confirmed by the King, were consecrated by him."¹

Secondly, The strictness of the rule (of the consecration of suffragan bishops by the Primate in person) is attested by a notable contemporaneous exception to the rule, which occurred under unusual circumstances. On one occasion (*i.e.* in May 1554) the two suffragans of Åbo and Wiborg were consecrated not by the Metropolitan, but by Bishop Bothvid himself instead. One of these prelates, Bishop Juusten, the author of the *Chronicon*, thinks it necessary to account for this exceptional fact. He says, "*Erat enim Dominus Archiepiscopus quodam-modo in regia indignatione*"²—the reason why the Primate did not offi-

¹ See Dr. Mason's *tl. of Anjou's Hist.*, Appendix.

² *Chron. Episcop. Finland.* p. 41.

ciate was, that at the time he was somewhat under the King's displeasure—a clear proof that it was the known invariable rule of Archbishop Laurentius to consecrate, in person, his suffragans.

Thirdly, Archbishop Laurentius, like all other Catholic Bishops, held the absolute necessity of episcopal consecration; he has embodied that law of the Church in his own well-known Church Ordinance (*Kyrko-ordning*). To believe that he allowed a priest to discharge for fifteen years the functions of a Bishop without consecrating him, which it was his duty as Primate to do in person, is simply to assume that the Archbishop, without reason or inducement, made a point of violating both his public duties and his own Church principles.

Fourthly, It is a fact for which we may adduce the authority of Theiner, the Vatican historian,¹ that Bothvid was promoted to a bishopric for services rendered to the Primate. It is certain that the Primate would not have promoted him to the position of a "pretenced" Bishop; we may add, it is equally certain that his patron, as was his personal official duty, would have consecrated the Bishop of Strengnäs.

Fifthly, There was a special reason why the Metropolitan should have been scrupulously careful in the consecration of Bishop Bothvid, viz. the present vacancy in the See of Strengnäs was created by the deposition of an undoubted Bishop, Magnus Sommar, the very same year.²

Sixthly, Bothvid, Canon of Lincöping, was an eminent Churchman, and on terms of private intercourse and friendship with the Archbishop and his family.

These considerations appear amply sufficient to warrant the conclusion, that the Bishop of Strengnäs was consecrated by the Metropolitan in person.

¹ *La Suède et le Saint Siège*, tom. i. chap. ix.

² Rhyzelius, *Episcoposcop.* lib. iv. c. ii. § 25.

CHAPTER VII.

BISHOP PAUL JUUSTEN.

§ 1.

THE consecrator of Archbishop Laurentius Petersson Gothus was the venerable Bishop of Åbo, Paulus Juusten,¹ whose consecration by Bishop Bothvid, in the Cathedral of Strengnäs in 1554, I have now to establish.

Joh. Messenius (*Sconlia Illustrata*, tom. v. p. 107) records the consecration of the two Bishops, Juusten and Michael Agricola, in 1554, "a M. Bothvido Strengnensium Episcopo."

The *Acta Palmsköldiana* form a large collection of original MSS. in the University Library of Upsala. I have examined and verified the following entry in these *Acta*: "The Master Paulus Juusten, in the year 1554, was appointed Bishop of Wiborg, and was consecrated thereto by the Lord Bothvid, Bishop of Strengnäs."²

Bishop Rhyzelius relates the consecration of Paulus Juusten and Michael Agricola in several places in his *Episcoposcopia* (*vide* Bk. iv. c. iii. § 1; Bk. vii. c. iii. § 2 and 4; Bk. ix. c. ii. § 1), and the subsequent translation of the former in 1563 from Wiborg to Åbo. Bishop Juusten was a prelate of high character and of singular zeal in the discharge of the duties of his office. These facts are reflected in his remarkable Pastoral, dated Åbo, 14th December, 1563.³ Even a Vatican partizan, like

¹ Not "Justen," as sometimes incorrectly spelled.

² "M. Paulus Juusten år 1554, förordnad till Biskop uti Wiborg och aff Biskoppen uti Strengnäs D. Botvido thertil invigt."

³ "Paulus Juusten, Episcopus Aboensis, Honorabilibus Viris, Dominis Ecclesiarum Pastoribus in Norfinlandia constitutis," etc. See Rhyzelius, *Episcoposcop.* *Anmärkingar*, p. 151.

Theiner, is constrained to speak of him, as well as of his predecessor in the same see, in terms of marked respect, as amongst the most eminent opponents of the Papacy.¹ Writers of the history of the Church in Finland mention him with honour, as a man whose services entitle him to the lasting gratitude both of his Church and country.² After the death of the Primate, Bishop Juusten of Åbo was not merely the senior Bishop in years, but the most distinguished of the entire Swedish Episcopate for piety, ability, and learning.

§ 2.

The great authority on the transactions of this period is the work of Bishop Juusten himself, the *Chronicon Episcoporum Finlandensium*, to which Messenius and other investigators are indebted. I translate the following from the Memoir of Bishop Michael Agricola in this old Chronicle:—

Hitherto you have been informed of the previous position of Agricola, and of his acts; now observe how it was that he was raised to the episcopate. In the year 1554, those who remained of the old form of the Chapter, namely, the Dean Peter Ragwaldson; Master Michael Agricola, Canon of S. Laurence; Master Canut, Parish Priest of Åbo; and Master Paul Juusten, Rector of the Åbo School, who was also Prebendary at that time, at the command of our Most Serene and Gracious Sovereign Lord, Gustavus, proceeded to Stockholm in the beginning of the month of May. Deepatching all other business, his Majesty received them in a certain place in the level, outside the fortress of Gripsholm. He said, that it was no longer necessary for the prelates of the churches of Sweden to visit the Court of

¹ "Agricola, évêque d'Åbo, et Paul Juusten, qui s'étaient acquis l'un et l'autre une grande réputation comme défenseurs des nouvelles doctrines."—THEINER, tom. i. p. 384.

² "Viro de Patria Ecclesiæ nostræ immortaliter merito, M. Paule Juusten, Episcopo olim Abocensi."—HENR. GABR. PORTHAN, in his Preface to the *Chronicon*.

Rome for episcopal confirmation, forasmuch as such jurisdiction existed at home in Sweden with his Majesty. Wherefore, it pleased our Most Serene Sovereign Lord, that the diocese of Finland should be divided into two bishoprics, namely, Åbo and Wiborg, as had been done in the case of other dioceses in the kingdom of Sweden.

This division, however, did not altogether please Master Michael, who at that time was in charge of the diocese of Åbo. . . .

After taking the episcopal oath and our registering the same in writing, the King admonished us to be mindful of our official duty. The laying on of hands, however, and confirmation, we received from Bishop Bothvid of Strengnäs, for the Lord Archbishop lay in some degree under the royal displeasure. We then returned to Åbo with God's guidance, on the vigil of the Feast of S. Henry. The same summer Bishop Agricola visited the churches on the coast, and, on the Nativity of our Lady, he celebrated what is called a Bishop's Mass, wearing the ornament of his mitre. When this came to the knowledge of his Majesty, he was not overmuch pleased in consequence of the Popery which was attached to this thing.¹

The Bishop having thus recorded his consecration by Bishop Bothvid to the See of Wiborg, afterwards chronicles his translation to the See of Åbo: "Anno Dni. 1563, peractis comitiis Holmiæ mense Junii erant M. Paulus Juusten in Episcopum Aboensem et M. Canutus Joannis in Episcopum Wiburgensem constituti."²

§ 3.

Besides the direct object for which I have quoted it, the above passage from the *Chronicon* of Bishop Juusten proves—

1. That the King drew an essential distinction between a vicar-general or administrator of a diocese, and a consecrated Bishop.

2. That in the view of Gustavus, the mere administration of the oaths and confirmation by the Sovereign did

¹ Juusten, *Chronicon Episcop. Finland.* p. 40, *seq.* ² *Ibid.* p. 44.

not make a Bishop; but, the bishop-elect must receive consecration by the laying on of a Bishop's hands.

In this, Gustavus was only consistently carrying out the principles on which he had been acting for upwards of thirty years in his relations to the Church and her Bishops. I have already drawn attention to the King's Letter of 7th November, 1527, requiring that the bishops-elect should proceed without fail to be consecrated and anointed by a Bishop.

3. That the change, since the Reformation, in the appointment of Bishops, did not go beyond the question of *patronage*, and simply had the effect of putting the Church of Sweden on the same footing with the Church of England. Blackstone remarks:—

The reformation of religion under Henry VIII. and his children opens an entire new scene in ecclesiastical matters; the usurped power of the Pope being now for ever routed and destroyed, all his connections with this island cut off, the crown restored to its supremacy over spiritual men and causes, and the patronage of bishoprics being once more indisputably vested in the King.”¹

This is equally true of Sweden under Gustavus I. and his children.

CHAPTER VIII.

ARCHBISHOP LAURENTIUS PETERSSON GOTHUS.

§ 1.

THEINER, the Roman Catholic historian, relates:—

The Archbishop was consecrated on the 14th of June by the Bishops of Wexiö and Åbo in the most solemn manner with the Mitre, Crosier, Ring, and Chrism, according to the complete Catholic use. Martin, Bishop designate of Lincöping, who a short time

¹ *Blackstone's Commentaries*; ed. Warren, chap. lxix. p. 686.

before had so strongly opposed that ceremonial, pronounced a discourse in Latin in which he enlarged eloquently on the sublimity and sanctity of the rite, which had just taken place, as well as on the high importance of the archiepiscopal dignity. After his own consecration, the Archbishop in his turn consecrated the new Bishops, Martin Gestrich and Erasmus, Bishop of Westerås, with less pomp, but also according to the rite of the Catholic Church.¹

§ 2.

The elder Baazius, Bishop of Wexiö, has given in his history² a circumstantial account of the Consecration of the Archbishop. He had full means of contemporaneous information. The historian was married to the daughter of Bishop Peter Jonæ Angermann, who was appointed to the bishopric of Wexiö, August 5th, 1595.³ His episcopate lasted thirty-five years, and supposing him to have been consecrated at an average age of forty-five, his birth year was 1550; Angermann was, therefore, at least in his twenty-sixth year at the consecration of Laurentius Petersson Gothus. His son-in-law, Baazius, had thus the advantage of an informant who was contemporary with the events, if not an actual eyewitness, in 1575, of the Archbishop's consecration in the Cathedral of Upsala.

§ 3.

Baazius, however, had another contemporaneous authority. There is extant a curious MS. in the University Library at Upsala, partly in Swedish, partly in Latin, a Chronicle in the handwriting of *Nicolaus Andreæ*, Parish Priest of Bringetofta, in the same diocese of Wexiö, to

¹ Tom. ii. chap. iv.

² *Inventarium Eccles. Svec-Goth.* lib. iii. c. ix. The Bishop of Westerås was Erasmus Nicolai Arboganus: the Bishop of Lincöping, Martinus Olavi Gestricius (Helsingus). The son of the latter prelate, Olavus Martini, was Archbishop of Upsala in 1602.

³ *Vide* Rhzelius, *Episcoposcop.* *Svec-Goth.* lib. vi. c. iii. § 5.

which he was appointed at Easter 1571. Baazius must have seen and copied the Chronicle of the priest of Bringetofta, as his own narrative is given in identical phraseology, and indeed in almost the same language, word for word. It will be sufficient, therefore, to give the statements of the Priest's Chronicle. Its latter portion is in Latin, and is headed "*Acta Ecclesiastica apud Suecas, tempore Johannis III., Regis Suetice, Holmiæ inchoata Anno Christi, 1573.*" The following is a translation of passages which I have recently extracted from the original MS. :¹—

In the month of June in the year of our Lord 1574, after the death of the old Archbishop of sainted memory, the principal divines were convened, and after other business of a Parliamentary nature, they despatched the election of the new Archbishop. The votes of the great majority were given to Magister Laurentius Gothus, Professor at Upsala.

The Priest of Bringetofta goes on to notice the innovations in Ritual approved by the Bishops, the clergy in vain opposing their introduction; he records that, in the December of the same year, the Archbishop-elect was "confirmed" by the King after his subscribing a long list of Articles.

In the year 1575, [continues the Bringetofta Chronicle,] from the commencement of January up to the month of March, the Bishops remained in Stockholm, discussed the Articles aforesaid, and subscribed them. They are called the "New Ordinance." . . . In the June following the Bishops and the leading Clergy repaired again to Stockholm, and almost all subscribed the Declaration of the Bishops. This done, they left in one body for Upsala, for the purpose of consecrating the new Bishops. Thither were conveyed episcopal crosiers gilt with gold, and tiaras or mitres, with the rest of the full paraphernalia of Bishops (*cum reliquis panopliis episcopali*). Moreover, when they arrived they were served with a new mandate, to have and to use Oil in the act of consecration. Although the Bishops regarded this with little favour, they were reluctant to

¹ I am indebted to Dr. Styffe for an opportunity of perusing this MS.

oppose the command of the King. Accordingly the consecration took place with all points of the high ritual proper to Bishops, such as few had ever seen before.

§ 4.

As a comment upon the narrative of the Priest of Bringetofta, I would give the following passage from the history of these transactions in the work of Anjou:—

A Correspondence took place between the King and the Archbishop (elect). The former reminded the Archbishop of the engagement given by the latter, and expressed his surprise how the Archbishop could disparage those ceremonies which were used both in the Old and the New Testament, and which had also been the use of his predecessor Laurentius Petersson the elder, and with which many priests still living had been ordained to their sacred office; finally, he intimated that both the Archbishop and the Bishop (elect) of Lincöping must submit unless they meant to resign their office. The Archbishop appealed to the Conferences held in the King's presence on "anointing," and to the contents of his "engagement," in which mention was certainly made of the crosier and mitre, but not of "anointing." The latter rite in the Roman Church was connected with more superstition and impiety than the others; no doubt for his own part he could adopt it without superstition, but that dissatisfaction in consequence would be increased amongst the priesthood to so high a degree that a disruption of the Church might be the result of it. The priests present, who were chiefly assembled from the diocese of Upsala, also declared themselves against it.

King John, for the first time in this question, showed that stiff-necked obstinacy with which he afterwards managed Church affairs. We do not know how the matter went on, but the upshot was that the will of the King prevailed. The Archbishop was anointed with oil at the solemn consecration in the Cathedral of Upsala on the 14th of July. On that occasion the old vestments, as well as the crosier and mitre, were used by all the Bishops. The Consecrator was the aged Bishop of Åbo, Paul Juusten, at whose consecration by Bishop Bothvid of Strengnäs that ritual was still possibly retained. Afterwards the Archbishop consecrated the two Bishops.¹

¹ *Svenska Kyrkoreform. Hist.* tom. iii. chap. iii.

§ 5.

To the foregoing evidences it will be scarcely necessary to add more than one or two observations.

The facts in the history of the Church of Sweden here involved, and the Apostolic lineage of her Bishops of this period were *within living memory*. Thirty years or so separate ourselves from the translation of Bishop Sumner to the See of Canterbury, and a few years more, from the date of his consecration. A score of years, more or less, intervene between the consecrations of Bishops Pelham of Norwich and Campbell of Bangor, and the present time. Now, some thirty-nine years divided the transactions of 1575 from the consecration of Bishop Bothvid to the See of Strengnäs; there was an interval of no more than twenty-one years since the consecration of Bishop Juusten, at Strengnäs, by Bishop Bothvid; and, but thirteen years had elapsed from the death of Bishop Bothvid, in 1562, to the consecration of Primate Laurentius Petersson Gothus, by Bishop Juusten, in 1575, in the Cathedral of Upsala. The Swedish Church of 1575 was as well acquainted with the facts as to the Orders and Consecrations of the Bishops of Strengnäs and Åbo, as we are to-day with those of Bishops Sumner and Pelham and Campbell. Besides, it must be remembered, Paulus Juusten and Bothvid Sunonis rank amongst the greatest prelates of their generation, and were conspicuous in the affairs of Church and State. To suppose, that either the one or the other pretended to be a consecrated Bishop, when he was not, and that both Church and State believed, as matters of fact, what all men knew to be imposture—is absurd.

Moreover, the new Archbishop was the leader of the "Ritualistic" party, and owed his elevation to his zeal for the restoration of a more complete Catholic Liturgy. In the

ritual movement he would stop short of the use of the chrism only, and that, for merely prudential considerations. That as thorough a Catholic Churchman as any in modern times would accept his orders at the hands of any but a true Bishop is incredible.

King John went beyond the Archbishop himself. He insisted that the Primate of Sweden should be consecrated, and should also consecrate other Bishops in his turn, with all the splendour of Catholic ritual, and, at the imminent risk of a disruption of the Church, issued his mandate for the use of chrism, which he deemed essential to the Sacrament of Orders and the legitimate conveyance of the Apostolical Succession. For this purpose the Bishop of Åbo was chosen. That the King was either careless, or ignorant, or uncertain, whether the consecrator of the Primate of the Church of Sweden were a Bishop or not, is a notion too futile for serious discussion.

CHAPTER IX.

CONCLUSION.

§ 1.

THE facts given in the preceding pages speak for themselves.

Those who doubt the Apostolical Succession of the Bishops of the Church of Sweden ignore facts, and confound that Church with the Danish and Norwegian bodies. Hence arise their prejudices on this subject, which are not more reasonable than the Roman suspicion that Barlow and Parker were English laymen, and are not less fanciful, let me add, than the corresponding prejudice, existing to-day in the mind of the Swedish High Churchman, against the

English Church as one of those sects which owe their rise to the accidents of the Reformation, and their doctrines on the holy Sacraments and on grace to Zuinglius and Calvin.

The Church of Sweden, it must be allowed, has never called in question, much less prohibited, the use of those Eucharistic Vestures which are the immediate testimonies to the Apostolical lineage of Catholic Bishops and Priests. A Swedish Priest, by the law of the Church, is entitled to use as his full vestments the white surplice and a chasuble of velvet. The chasuble is worn "concurrently" with the surplice, and bears a large embroidered cross on the breast and another on the back. Every parish church that can afford the expenditure keeps two sets of chasubles for different functions—one of crimson velvet and gold, the other of black velvet and silver. The Bishop wears a pectoral cross of gold; a cope, of crimson velvet, richly embroidered in gold; the episcopal mitre; and uses the pastoral staff.

At ordinations and at the consecration of churches, the Bishops wear the surplice "concurrently" with the crimson chasuble. The Metropolitan is distinguished from the suffragan prelates by the addition of a *gloria* round the pectoral cross, and by a Golden Mitre.

§ 2.

Finally, I would claim for the Church of Sweden the hereditary interest of English Churchmen.

After the introduction of Christianity into Sweden by Ansgarius, the most illustrious name in the missionary annals of the North is the English Sigfrid. He was instrumental to the conversion and baptism of Olof Skötkonung, King of Upsala, about A.D. 1000. This king, instead of accepting the advances of the Pope's legate at the time,

distrusting the interference of Italian ecclesiastics within his kingdom, applied for missionaries to England. Sigfrid, Archdeacon, some said Archbishop, of York, came over with his three nephews—Unaman, Vinaman, and Sunaman—afterwards known as the martyrs of Småland. His own devoted labours were so successful, that, next to Ansgarius, this Englishman has been called the “Apostle of the North.” Through the exertion and the abiding influence of the sainted Sigfrid, other missionaries from England were induced to labour in different parts of the country, several of whom founded, or succeeded to, episcopal sees. S. Sigfrid himself founded the bishopric of Wexiö; S. Eskil, the Martyr and the Apostle of Småland, founded that of Strengnäs; at one period (from 1077) there was a succession of three English prelates in the see of Skara, Rudolward, Ricolph, and Edward: S. David, the martyr, founded the bishopric of Westerås, and amongst his earliest successors were the Englishmen, Ilian and Ogidius, in whose honour the principal churches of the cathedral city were named and dedicated. At a later period, another celebrated Englishman visited the churches of Scandinavia. Nicholas Breakspear, then a Cardinal-Bishop, was commissioned as legate to the northern kingdoms by Pope Eugenius III. No foreigner (so native historians tell us) ever made such an impression on the Norwegian Church as this great Englishman.¹ From Norway Cardinal Breakspear passed into Sweden, where he invested the Archbishop of Lund with the pallium. Upsala had not at that time become the Metropolitan see. Subsequently a great impulse was given to the work of the Church by the saintly King Erik, who was zealous as a builder and

¹ “Aldrig har en främling Kommit till Norrige, hvilken allmogen så mycket vördat och åtydt som denne.”—STURLESON, quoted by Cornelius, p. 42.

founder of churches; but this king's right hand was another Englishman, Henry, Bishop of Upsala, who is said to have accompanied Breakspear. This Bishop subsequently became "the Apostle of Finland," where he won the crown of martyrdom. He is canonized as S. Henry by the Roman Church.

Thus has England sent to Sweden a noble band of missionaries, bishops, saints, and martyrs. Amongst the most venerated memories in the annals of the Swedish Church are the names of those illustrious Englishmen, who laboured for her in days gone by.